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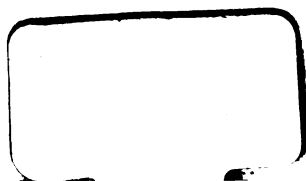
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# The Reformed Reformation

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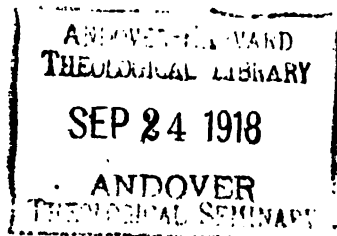
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## PREFACE

This work has been published to meet a desire by some of the ministers of the Reformed Church for more material on the Reformed side of the Reformation, which they might use in the observance of the Quarto-centenary of the Reformation. We therefore give less space to the Lutheran side of the Reformation; especially as the material on that side of the Reformation is more abundant, and besides the Lutherans, to their credit be it said, have been exploiting Luther more than the Reformed have been doing for Zwingli or Calvin. Where we have treated of both sides of the Reformation, we have tried to give the Lutheran side fairly, but we have given the facts as they stand today. We have no desire to minimize Luther, but to give him all due credit for the greatness of his work. But Luther is not the whole of the Reformation and the Reformed should receive their fair recognition. We have also endeavored to utilize the latest discoveries in the history of the Reformation and also the latest publications of, and on, that period. This has placed somethings in a new light. The Reformed and Presbyterian Churches are especially interested in all this, as they have come directly from Zwingli through Calvin. And we trust that they will find this work helpful for the observance of this Anniversary. We only regret the shortness of time that we have had, in which to prepare it so as to get it out before 1917. And we regret our inability, on account of the war, to get to Zurich so as to get hold of more of the original sources, though our own large library on the Reformed Church of Switzerland has given much. That this book may have a share, however small, in making this Anniversary a great inspiration and blessing to our Churches is the wish of the author.

JAMES I. GOOD.





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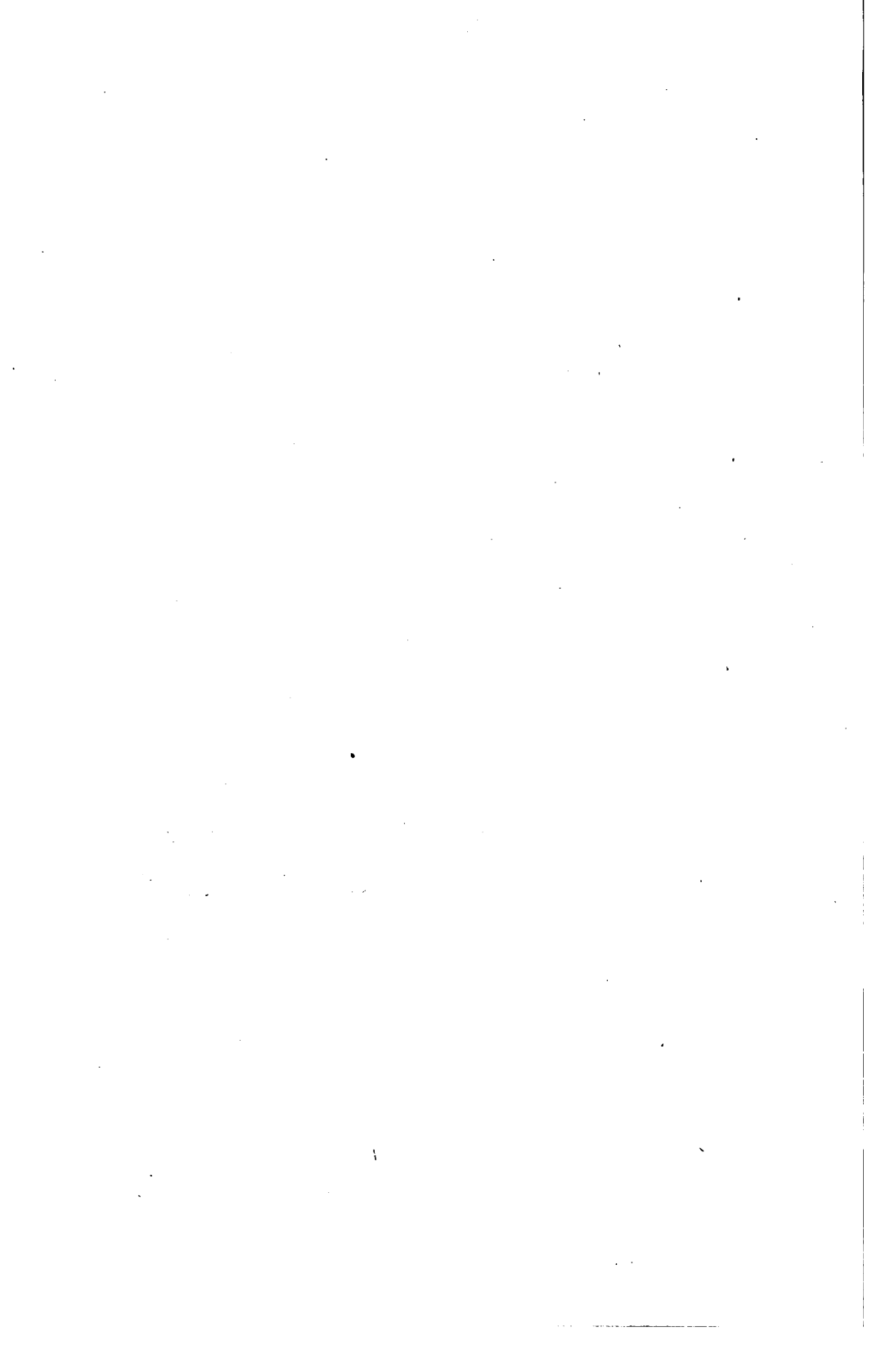
# The Reformed Reformation

## BOOK I

### Who was the First Reformer?

#### INTRODUCTORY.

The question who was the first Reformer is an old one. There has been a long debate between the Lutherans and the Reformed as to which of the Reformers was the first, Luther or Zwingli. This question seems a very simple one, but the answer is not by any means so simple, as we shall see. But first of all one thing is becoming prominent in the later researches about the history of the Reformation and that is, that before either Luther or Zwingli, there was another who was earlier, Prof. James Lefevre, of France. The tendency of modern research about the Reformation has been to go beyond the Reformers, back to their teachers as the sources of the Reformation. And of these on the Reformed side two stand out prominently, Prof. James Lefevre, of France, and Prof. Thomas Wyttenbach, of Basle.



## CHAPTER I.

PROF. JAMES LEFEVRE.

In the study of the Reformers, historical research has been going back of the Reformers themselves to the study of their antecedents. And so a new phase of the Reformation has opened up. The value of these earlier men has so grown that one of them now looms up as the first Reformer, Prof. James Lefevre of Paris. Prof. Doumergue, who has written the latest and most elaborate biography of Calvin, makes Lefevre not only a forerunner of the Reformers as has been previously supposed, but he makes Lefevre to be himself a Reformer. The old controversy whether Luther or Zwingli was the first Reformer passes away, for Lefevre was before either of them. And as Lefevre founded the Reformed Church of France, the Reformed would seem to have the advantage in priority. Lefevre was truly a Reformer, for he aimed as did all the Reformers, at a reformation of the Catholic Church.

Hitherto he has appeared as a sort of a shadowy form, hovering about the beginning of the Reformation. But it has been becoming more clearly evident that he was one of the greatest, if not the greatest scholar just before the Reformation. Baird says: "To Lefevre belongs the honor of restoring letters to France." His eulogist, Scaevola de Saint-Marthe, has not exaggerated his merit, when, placing him in the front rank of the learned men whom he celebrates, he likens the Picard doctor:

"To a new sun rising from the Belgian coast to dissipate the fogs and darkness investing his native land and pour upon its youth the full beams of a purer learning. Lefevre confined his attention to no single branch of learning. He was equally proficient in mathematics, in astronomy, in Biblical literature and criticism. Brilliant attainments in so many departments were commended yet more to the admiration of beholders by a modest and unassuming deportment, by morals above re-

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by a disinterested nature in which there was no  
rice."

Erasmus could say, "Among the thousands of the  
men of France, there is only one Lefevre," we can  
realize the position that he held in the learned world.  
One of his cotemporaries, wrote to him (1513),  
the most philosophical of the philosophers." In  
Erasmus declared that "Lefevre was a man so pious,  
so learned, having rendered such great service to  
and literature that he merited never to grow old."

Wish of Erasmus came as nearly being fulfilled as  
Lefevre grew old until he became a centenarian,  
g to Doumergue. Compared with him Erasmus and  
the two great humanists of that day, were as boys,  
was old enough to be their grandfather. Lefevre was  
humanism before Erasmus ever knew humanism.

his greatest glory was that he was the first to dethrone  
lastic theology of the Catholic Church which had come  
from the middle ages. And this he did before Luther.  
calls him "one of the noblest of men of earth, if one con-  
his learning, his piety, his generosity. For he was the  
no by living voice and very learned writings had placed  
in the university of Paris, mathematics and the true  
of Aristotle in place of the sophistry which before had  
ned." Beza hails him as:

"The man who boldly began the revival of the pure re-  
on of Jesus Christ; that just as in ancient times the school  
Isocrates sent forth the best orators, so from the lecture  
om of the doctor of Etaples (Lefevre) issued many of the  
st men of the age and of the Church."

And so it develops that this man, who has hovered around  
the early history of the Reformation as a phantom, was a far  
reater force than has hitherto been supposed. It used to be  
aid that "Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation and  
Luther hatched it." But now it appears that Lefevre laid the  
egg of the Reformation even before Erasmus and that the  
Reformers hatched it. For he seems to have been the father  
of all the great Reformers of the first generation except  
Melancthon, who was especially influenced by his relative,

Reuchlin. For Lefevre influenced, either directly or indirectly, Luther, Zwingli, Farel and Lasco; and of them Luther and Farel directly. He therefore stands out as the leader of the thinkers of the age before the Reformation and the father of the Reformers. He might well be named the "Father of the Reformation."

Prof. James Lefevre was born,—ah, here comes the first surprise. The view formerly held was that he was born about 1455. But Doumergue places his birth about 1435 and very ably defends it in his "Life of Calvin." This date would make Lefevre a centenarian when he died. It would make him an old man (over 70) before the Reformation broke out. Indeed his efforts in the Reformation were made at a time in life when most men go into retirement. Yet at that age he entered into the thick of the battle. He has been criticized for not having done more for the Reformation; the wonder was, that in view of his great age, he did so much.

Not only the time when he was born is significant, but also the place. He was born at Etaples in Picardy in northeastern France. His real name was Faber and he has come down to us as Faber Stapulensis or Faber of Etaples. But he has been known to us in English mainly as Lefevre. Now it was from this very same district of Picardy that John Calvin later came. Indeed the Picards were noted as original thinkers and leaders, for to Lefevre and Calvin can be added a third Reformer—the great Reformer of philosophy in the Reformation—Peter Ramus. And other leaders, as Roussel, the eloquent preacher in the French Reformation; Olivetan, the great translator of the Bible into French; Vatable, Calvin's teacher of Hebrew, and Beda, the great opponent of Protestantism in the Reformation at Paris, all came from this district of Picardy.

Lefevre went from Picardy to Paris for his education. His great hindrance was the barbarous instruction he received, both in Picardy and Paris. But all sorts of obstacles melted away before his extraordinary mind. He struggled up into knowledge "like one clambering up the Rigi mountain to see the sun gilding the peaks of an Alpine range." But he kept on climbing and so got to the top of his profession.

The materials of his early life in the century before the Reformation are meagre. He not only studied at Paris but

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himself by much travel, both in France and other indeed is said to have traveled as far as Asia. year 1492 he took a journey to Italy. He visited Rome and Venice, where he studied Platonism and nism and also the works of the mystics. In Italy into contact with Picus of Mirandola, who by his of the Romish Church, was one of the immediate s of the Reformation. He then became professor ematics and philosophy in the college of Cardinal e at Paris. There he was greatly beloved by his pupils ability, piety, modesty and gentleness. But he was far beyond his lecture room by his Latin translations Church Fathers and his Commentary on the Works of e. One of the studies that most influenced him was He first learned it from a fugitive from Sparta named Hieronymus; who, about the middle of the 15th cen- ad been driven westward by the Turkish invasion of ntinople.

ut though the details of his life in that early period are , its results were not. McCrie, one of the Church his- s of Scotland, says "Lefevre merits the title of 'Father ench Literature,' not so much for the books he pub- l as for the intellectual stimulus he gave to that age hgh his scholars. The greater part of the Frenchmen who nguished themselves in the first part of the sixteenth cen- y were either trained under him or in some way indebted his instructions." That statement of McCrie's is borne out the fact that the most distinguished men of the early part f the sixteenth century were his pupils. They were Briçon- et, later bishop of Meaux, one of the most influential church- men of his age; Vatable, one of the finest teachers of Hebrew and later Calvin's teacher; Roussel, the confessor of Margaret, Queen of Navarre and sister of king Francis I of France, and others. Perhaps most eminent among his pupils was William Bude, who led king Francis I, who was the patron of humanism, to establish royal lectures in Paris, so that instruction might be given in Greek, Hebrew and mathematics, wholly in the spirit of the renaissance. This was done with such a zeal for the new learning of humanism as to rouse the hostility of the Sorbonne at Paris. Out of these royal



lectures grew later the College of France.

Lefevre's class room was the place where the seeds of the Reformation were very early sown. Out of it came William Farel, the fiery herald of Protestantism and the co-laborer of Calvin; Louis de Berquin, who was the first in France to give his life as a martyr to the new faith, and others. Reformers of other lands came into contact with Lefevre when they visited Paris, as Lasco of Poland. In fact, all the early Reformers of France grew out of his class room or through his influence. But perhaps greatest of all, as Beza says, was his attack on the scholastic theology that had ruled the universities. He denounced it as barbarism. His conflict with it and victory over it were the stepping stones to the Reformation.

In 1509 occurred an event destined to be epochal in his life. Though still professor, he went to live with bishop Briçonnet in the great monastery at St. Germain de Pres in Paris. There he lived as abbot for thirteen years. This close connection with Briçonnet, who had been his principal pupil, brought him into close contact with the court of France; especially as later, Roussel, another of his pupils, became confessor of Queen Margaret. It was through Lefevre that Queen Margaret, the "Esther of the French court," was converted to Evangelical views. Her brother, King Francis I, was favorable to humanism and hated alike the bigotry of the monks and the tyranny of the priests. It was owing to this close relationship of Lefevre to the French court, that he did not pay his life as a forfeit for his Evangelical views. Nothing but the royal protection ever permitted him to die a natural death in the midst of so much persecution as Protestantism suffered in France during his life.

The other important result of his entrance into this monastery was due to its large and important library. There he turned to study and especially to the study of the Bible; for the cloister library gave him much material. And this study of the Bible made him a Reformer. Though at least fifty years of age and probably seventy (according to Doumergue) he began to set aside profane studies and to search the Bible. The result of this was the publication of his first work on this subject—the Psalms, "Quintuplex Psalterium."

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show his importance, let us institute a comparison. The epoch-making events of the Reformation was the translation of the New Testament in Greek by Erasmus in 1516. Its great importance is shown by the fact that before its publication, scholars, if they wanted to get hold of the Greek of the New Testament, had no way but to go to the Church Fathers and pick out here and there a verse of the New Testament. The Latin language had become the language of the Catholic Church and this so common that it had crushed out the Greek. When therefore Erasmus' New Testament appeared, it did not take long for reformers to see the difference between it and the Romish version of their day. Erasmus therefore very worthily acquired great fame from this publication. But pause a moment. Erasmus did so great a thing, Lefevre had long been working on an effort just as important. As early as 1509, years before Erasmus had published his New Testament, were published the Psalms, which was only the beginning of a great work of Bible publication, far more extensive and essential than Erasmus, as we shall see. This work on the Psalms was in Latin. It contained five versions of the Psalms: 1. The Roman translation. 2. The Second Roman version—Gallican. 3. The translation from the Hebrew by the Vulgate Church Father, Jerome. 4. The translation before Lefevre. 5. Lefevre's own translation, with a critical and exegetical commentary. He published this work in order that students of the Bible might get new light and a deeper insight into the meaning of that sacred book by a comparison of the translations.

Now in doing this he began to depart from a great doctrine of the Catholics that the Vulgate was the sacred translation. But more significant than this is a remark that he makes in the book. In its preface he says "that all his studies in human knowledge (and he had been at them for perhaps a half a century) were only as darkness compared with the brilliant light revealed by the study of the Scriptures." He compared this study of divine things "to the exhalation of a perfume to whose sweetness the world has no equal." Thus somewhere about the time that Luther was making his first discovery of a Bible at Erfurt, Lefevre had

published the results of his study of the Bible. Lefevre was thus the Aurora—the daybreak of the Reformation, of which Wycklife had been the Morning Star.

And now comes a most interesting fact about this work of Lefevre's. It has been hitherto supposed that Lefevre was the father of the French Reformation, but it was not known that he affected the early Lutheran Reformation. Luther began his lectures on the Psalms at Wittenberg about 1512. What was the book that he used? It was none other than Lefevre's work on the Psalms, for Luther's copy of the work has been found, containing his own notes in it. An attempt has been made by German Church historians to make everything in the Reformation to be indebted to Luther—that every other Reformation came from the German Reformation. The attempt has been made to make Lefevre indebted to Luther. But this recent discovery has turned the tables completely. Lefevre was not indebted to Luther, but Luther to Lefevre and in two ways.

1. He used this work of Lefevre in his Lectures.
2. He used Lefevre's method of exegesis. Lefevre broke the way for a better exegesis than the exaggerated allegorizing method of the Catholics. Lefevre began to see that the Bible must be interpreted by itself and not according to the Church fathers or according to the allegorizing method in use before that time, by which each text had to have at least four ways of being interpreted: literal, allegorical, topical, and analogical. He made a beginning of this new method in his work on the Psalms. True, it was only a beginning and he still was largely affected by the old allegorizing method. For he allegorized the Psalms somewhat and made them refer to Christ. Still he began the new method which he later improved. And this method Luther began adopting.

Another interesting fact about this book of Lefevre's is that a copy of it came into the library of Zwingli also. In our days, it is true, the mere presence of a book in a man's library does not count for much, because of the multitude of books that are published. But in those days, when books were scarce and very expensive, the owner would not put his money into a book unless he was really interested in it. The presence of a book in a library counted for much more in those

days than it would now. Thus the presence of heretical books in a man's library was then counted as proof positive that he was heretical. Remembering this, the presence of this book in Zwingli's library is significant. And what makes it more significant is the fact that Zwingli wrote his own notes on it in the pages of the book, showing that he studied it. And it doubtless began affecting his method of exegesis as he revealed it later by making the Bible its own interpreter.

If the year 1509 was an epochal one for Lefevre, the year 1512 was more significant and for two things: He published a new book and he got a new pupil.

The first was the publication of Lefevre's work on the Pauline Epistles. This is important, for Doumergue calls it "the first Protestant book," published five years before Luther's theses. And for that reason, he calls Lefevre "the first of the Reformers."

The second great event for Lefevre was that he got a new student in William Farel, one of the greatest of the Reformers and the co-laborer of Calvin. Farel so frequently referred in his writings to his association with Lefevre that these cast a very interesting sidelight into Lefevre's relation to the Reformation. So Lefevre was not only the first Protestant, but he also raised up the first great leader of French Protestantism, Farel.

William Farel was born at Gap and about 1509 went to Paris to study. He graduated there in 1517 and left that city in 1521 to follow Lefevre to Meaux. The descriptions he has left reveal very vividly Lefevre's life. His first description of Lefevre is as a strict Catholic when he first came to know him. He says:

"Prof. James Lefevre bowed down lower before the images than any other person I had seen in my life. He would stay for an immense time on his knees, praying and telling his beads before those images. And I would join him in doing so. I was delighted to have found such a man, slave as he was to the pope and believing those things (Farel was at that time a strict papist, 'more papistic than the pope himself,' he says) which are most detestable in popish idolatry."

But it was this same Lefevre who led Farel out of these superstitions to Christ. For Lefevre would frequently tell his

young disciple: "All things are gone wrong, dear William, and some day God will make all things new. You may perhaps see it." That prophecy came true. Farel not merely saw that day, but Lefevre also. And Lefevre would also denounce to him some of the evils of the Catholic Church. "How disagreeable," he says, "is it to see a bishop asking men to drink with him, gambling, rattling the dice, spending his time with hawks and dogs and in hunting, hallowing after rooks and deer and following after such company."

But important as was Farel's coming to him, his publication of his new work on the Pauline Epistles was equally important. It was a Latin translation of, and commentary on, the Letters of Paul. In it he enlarged upon what he had hinted at in his work on the Psalms in 1509. "This book," says Doumergue, "may in a certain sense be called the first Protestant book." This is because it was published five years before Luther's theses and for that reason may be called the first Protestant book. It makes Lefevre the first of the Reformers. In it he speaks of the necessity of a reformation in the Church. He says:

"The Church rather follows the examples of its leaders and is far removed from what it ought to be. The signs of the times foretell a new revival. And since God has opened new ways for the preaching of the Gospel through the discoveries and conquests of the Spaniards and Portugese in all parts of the world, we hope that he will also visit his Church and again lift her up from the humiliation into which she has fallen."

His favorite idea that "God would renew the world," so often expressed to Farel, appears in this work. "God in his great mercy," he says, will soon revive the expiring spark in the hearts of men so that faith and love and a purer worship will return. "Well, he was old enough to be a prophet and he proved to be a true prophet.

This book reveals Lefevre's independence of Rome in several important respects.

1. In the preface, contrary to the common Catholic tradition, which makes Jerome the early Church Father to be the author of the Vulgate, he took the position that Jerome was not the author of the Vulgate. Now to deny that Jerome was the

author of Vulgate version was going straight against the decree of the Catholic Church. He thus began an era of criticism, which ultimately led to a breach with the Romish Church. And he not only denied this to Jerome, but he began departing from the Vulgate, as he soon tried to correct it according to the Greek.

2. But more important and significant for Protestantism was his declaration for the authority of the Bible; and this supremacy of the Bible would logically interfere with the supremacy of the Church's authority. He boldly says:

"It is there (in the Bible) where the doctrine of Christ is found. And those who will study it, will draw water with joy from the Savior's spring." "Let us exalt Christ our king by studying him in the holy oracles. Let us not follow the precepts and dogmas of men, which have no foundation in the light that has shone from on high."

3. But more significant than either of these was his clear enunciation of the doctrine of justification by faith. He held that salvation was not of works, but was by grace—the free gift of God. He says:

"It is almost blasphemous to talk of the merit of works especially before God. For a merit does not seem to ask for grace, but to exact what is due: to attribute merit to works is to have the opinion of those who think that we can be justified by works, an error for which the Jews were particularly condemned. Therefore let us not speak of the merit of our works, which is very small indeed, rather worthless. And let us exalt the grace of God which is everything. One can attribute real merit to no one but Christ, who has deserved everything for us: But as for ourselves, let us acknowledge that we have no merit before God and hope in his grace." "But you say, has any one ever been justified without the works of the law, either written or natural?" Yes, there have been such and without number. Who knows not that the penitent thief was justified by faith alone." "By works without faith it is impossible to be justified; by faith without works, it is possible."

"It is God alone who by His grace justifies unto everlasting life. There is a righteousness of works, there is a righteousness of grace: the one is earthly and passeth away, the other is heavenly and eternal: one is the shadow and the sign, the other, the light and the truth: one makes sin known

PROF. JAMES LEFEVRE

to us that we may escape death, the other reveals grace we may obtain life."

When asked by his hearers in his lectures, 'If we are justified by works what is the use of performing them?' answer was:

"Certainly, they are not in vain. If I hold a mirror to the sun, its image is reflected; the more I polish and clean the brighter is its reflection. But if I allow it to become tarnished, the splendor of the sun is dimmed. It is the same with justification (he really means sanctification) in those who lead an impure life."

His objectors answered, "Then St. James did not agree with St. Paul?" Lefevre's reply was:

"St. James says, in the first chapter, that every good and perfect gift cometh down from above. Can you deny that salvation is a good and perfect gift. It is true, works are a necessary sign of faith, just as breathing is a necessary sign of life. But a man breathes because he is alive. If he does not breathe, you would know that he is dead. If he is justified by faith, and works then follow as a necessity."

He does not stop here, but goes on to show how God could be just and yet deal with guilty sinners,—he could punish sinners and yet spare the sinner. He said:

"Wonderful exchange, the Innocent One is condemned and the criminal acquitted, the Blessed One is cursed and the cursed One is blessed, the life dies and the dead live, the glory is covered with shame and he who is put to shame is covered with glory. And all from God's free and sovereign love. Those who are saved are saved because God chose them by grace, by the will of God, not by their own will. Our own choice, our own will, our own works are useless, it is the choice of God, that alone is the cause of our salvation. When we are converted, it is not conversion that makes us to be God's chosen people; but it is the grace, will and choice of God that makes us to be converted people. And not converted people only, God makes us to be members of the body of his Son so that we are filled with himself; for in Christ dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead bodily. Oh if men could but understand this privilege, how purely, how holily would they live. They would look upon all the glory of this world as dung. They would delight themselves in that glory which is hidden from the eyes of the flesh." "There is but one foundation, one object

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Jesus Christ, blessed forevermore. Let us not call Peter Paul or Apollos or Peter. One is our Master,

fevre, says Doumergue, not only posits the two positions of Protestantism, the supremacy of justification by faith; but he also attacks the holicism. One of these was the magic of the He says:

washing with material water in baptism does not but it is the sign of justification by faith in Christ: visible symbols are the signs of things and divine

so attacked the reality of the mass. He opposes the "atum" in the Lord's Supper or the idea of sacrifice s. In commenting on Hebrews where Christ satisfies sins of the whole world by his sacrifice alone,

which is performed every day by the ministry of s is not so much repeated sacrifices as the remembrance and recollection of the one and only victim who was at once." "It is said every time that you do this 'do remembrance of me,' for he has satisfied for us all. And no other mysteries save in the presence of his body od. The remembrance of the divine sacrifice and tion is beneficial to all and more acceptable to God ay other sacrifice of satisfaction unto the end of the

e thus denies transubstantiation, though he held to a presence of Christ of some sort, which later reappeared e spiritual theory of Christ's presence, formulated by his ssor, Calvin.

In addition to attacking the sacraments, he also attacked: 1. The celibacy of the priests, saying of it that the Church fallen into the snare of the devil.

2. Lent and the practise of fasting. Also tithes, monkery, He says:

"There are men nowadays who teach a foolish godliness of Christ's doctrine. What does it profit me to fast ents or to pay my tithes? Why trust myself to formulas of unknown authors and leave aside the prescrip-



tions of the apostles. Why die in the cassock when one has lived his whole life in the secular habit? No such thing is ordered in Christ's doctrine. The balance may be more superstitious than religious. Let us therefore attach ourselves to Christ alone and to the doctrine of the apostles, for it is sufficient and it is first and paramount for salvation."

3. The use of the Latin language in the Catholic worship. He declared that most of the people prayed without understanding what they prayed and so they did not pray in the Spirit.

We thus see how Protestant this book is, for these were all of them sound Protestant positions and for that reason he could be called a Protestant. It was truly a remarkable book for its day. Its advanced ideas did not pass unnoticed by the Catholics, although at the time its true import and significance was not realized. There were several reasons for this:

1. One was that they were written in Latin and so reached only the learned.

2. The times were not ripe for such a book. The abuses of the indulgences had not become a scandal as five years later when Luther nailed up the theses.

3. Lefevre was a different sort of man from Luther. He has commonly been represented as a quiet, mystical sort of scholar. That is not exactly true. He could fight (as we shall see) when attacked. But he was not the polemist that Luther was. Luther was the offensive theologian, Lefevre the defensive. But he was not the quiet sort of man hitherto supposed, for he could hit back hard when attacked.

All these things prevented this book from creating the sensation later created by Luther, although this book was far more Protestant than Luther's theses, which had little of what is distinctively Protestant in them.

But what makes this book still more significant as a source of the Reformation, is that it has been discovered that Luther possessed a copy of it and used it in his lectures at the university at Wittenberg. He used it up to 1516 or 1517 when the New Testament of Erasmus came into his hands. Luther therefore was indebted to Lefevre. The German Church historians have labored to make all the rest of the

Reformation to be indebted to Luther. Zwingli, say Harnack and Loofs and Seeborg, got his ideas from Luther. We will answer this claim in regard to Zwingli elsewhere. They also claim that Lefevre was indebted to Luther.\* But the recent discovery of Luther's copy of Lefevre's Commentary has proved that Luther utilized Lefevre. No, Lefevre stated the doctrine of justification in 1512 before Luther held to that doctrine. That doctrine was not formulated till the Reformation. And Lefevre's book was the only one in which that doctrine of justification by faith was first formulated. So Luther got its formulated statement from him. We thus see how Luther was indebted to Lefevre. Luther was not the first Reformer as the Germans claim, but Lefevre. Luther speaks highly of Lefevre for he later says he feared "Erasmus did not sufficiently promote the cause of Christ and the grace of God, in which he was more ignorant than Lefevre."

It has been objected by those who favor Luther, that Lefevre was not a Reformer, because he did not do something like burning the pope's bull as Luther did or write a work such as Calvin's "Institutes of Theology." Well there were others whom the world recognizes as Reformers besides Luther and Calvin and yet they did not burn a bull or write an Institutes. Neither Bullinger or Beza did any such things, yet they are rated as Reformers. Each man became a Reformer according to his own disposition and circumstances. There were different kinds of Reformers and Lefevre was one of them.

But again it is objected that Lefevre held to some Catholic doctrines. That is true, for when he published this work he seems still to have held to prayers to the saints and purgatory and did not attack the constitution of the Catholic Church. But neither was Luther a Protestant when he nailed the theses up at Wittenberg. He still held to the invocation of the saints and transubstantiation and other Romish doctrines. The truth seems to be that Lefevre was as much a Protestant in 1512 as Luther in 1517 and more so. Thus Farel, in 1522, says of Luther, that the gospel was hindered in France by the reading of Luther's earlier works, because they were not ex-

\* Doumergue has ably answered this in his *Life of Calvin*, Vol. I, pages 542-555.

purgated from such Romanizing ideas as prayers to the saints, purgatory and transubstantiation.

Again some have objected to Lefevre's being a Reformer because he did not directly break off from Catholicism and come out squarely as a Protestant. Neither did Luther at first. He did not really break with the Catholic Church until it began to break with him. It forced the issue. We shall take up this special point about Lefevre later. Suffice it to say just now, that the charge of timidity that used to be made against Lefevre and which, it was said, kept him from leaving the Catholic Church, must now be revised in the light of what Prof. Doumergue has brought forth. Lefevre got into too many controversies after this to have been a timid man.

This doctrine of justification by free grace, taught in this book, he taught to Farel, who in later years wrote "Lefevre extricated me from the false opinion of human merits and taught me that everything came from grace, which I believed as soon as it was spoken." Farel also says "Lefevre turned me from the false thought that I could deserve anything of God." He said, "We have no merits at all. All is of grace or of God's pure mercy to those who deserve nothing. And this I believed as soon as it was told me."

We now come to the period when Lefevre shows his fighting mettle. The first controversy was a humanistic controversy in 1514 between the humanists and obscurantists. John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, and Jacob Hochstratten, a Dominican inquisitor, had insisted on the banishment of the Jews and the destruction of their writings. The emperor Maximilian, to settle the controversy, finally required an opinion from Reuchlin. This great Humanist, who was the finest Hebraist of his day, with great ability defended Hebrew literature. Pfefferkorn published Reuchlin's opinion with abusive comments, denounced him as a heretic and had him brought before the bishop of Spire for trial. The whole literary and theological world of that day was drawn into the contest. On the one side were the monks and on the other the humanists. Reuchlin was acquitted by the court. But the battle between the two parties continued to rage until Count Francis Von Sickingen forced the monks to pay the costs of prosecution and to

make an honorable reparation to Reuchlin. In this great controversy, the greatest just before the Reformation, where did Lefevre stand? Was he timid? Not at all. He boldly defended Reuchlin. Thus in a letter of August 30, 1514, he wrote to Reuchlin: "If you triumph, we triumph with you."

The next great controversy into which Lefevre entered was directly against Catholic ideas. It occurred in 1517, the very year Luther nailed up his theses. Lefevre ventured to battle with the Sorbonne at Paris. The previous year, he had published a second edition of his Commentary on Paul's Epistles, which contained so much about justification as we have seen. Now he also published another work on Mary Magdalene. This attacked a favorite view of the Catholics, indeed one that was incorporated in their liturgy for the Church Lessons set down for festival days. It thus had official sanction. It was that the three Marys of the New Testament, Mary Magdalene, Mary of Bethany, and Mary who anointed Jesus' feet, were one and the same person. Lefevre declared that they were not one but were three different persons. He discussed it as a mere academic question, but it raised a tremendous storm. The Sorbonne at Paris, led by Beda, loudly attacked it. The Franciscans, Carmelites, Dominicans vomited forth insults on the author of this heresy. They called him "stupid," "impious," "ignorant." A great polemical controversy arose. In this storm, what did Lefevre do? Did he do, as we have hitherto been led to believe (because he was such a timid character), be silent or recant? Not at all. He boldly replied to these attacks. Yes, he even went farther than before. He added another idea that seemed to them heretical. He declared that Anna, the husband of Mary, had not three husbands and three daughters as they believed, but one husband and one daughter. When warned by a friend that the publication of one of his books would expose him to the fire, he replied:

"I fear nothing. I do not believe there can be danger when we drive error from the minds of Christians in order to show them the truth. If some condemn me and my book to the fire, I will pray against the fire that the dew from heaven will put it out. I will forgive them."

These are not the words of a coward but of a martyr.

Thus a tremendous polemic grew around Lefevre. Repeated attacks on him were published. Replies were made to them by his friends as Clichtove and Agrippa of Nettesheim. To Beda, Lefevre's unpardonable offence was that he, a professor in the philosophical department of the university, should presume to investigate matters that belonged only to the doctors of theology of the Sorbonne. The bishop of Paris appealed to Fisher, the bishop of Rochester in England, who published two tracts against Lefevre and Clichtove. They responded and he replied. Thus there was a battle of books. But in it all Lefevre never lost his courage or proved the weakling he has hitherto been supposed to be. Farel, writing of this controversy, says: Inasmuch as Master Faber had a great deal more learning than all the doctors of Paris, he was persecuted by them for that reason. And I began thereby to see the meanness of those doctors and esteemed them no longer as I had done." Great was the uproar among the students of the university as Lefevre taught his new doctrines. They began to occupy themselves almost as much with the doctrines of the Gospel as with their studies and comedies.

Finally the university of Paris on November 9, 1521, issued a decree that he was a heretic because he maintained that the three Marys were not one person. Thus six months after the university ordered Luther's books to be burned there, Lefevre was condemned. Luther's works since 1519 had been coming into France. Beda and the Sorbonne detested and feared Luther; but lo! they had a Luther in their midst in Lefevre. Beda wanted to bring Lefevre before parliament as a heretic. But just then the royal friendship of King Francis and Queen Margaret intervened for Lefevre and the process against him was stopped. Such was the storm that Lefevre raised and nothing saved him but the royal intervention. But meanwhile Lefevre had escaped from the power of his enemies. He had left Paris early in 1521 and gone to Meaux, about thirty miles from Paris, at the invitation of bishop Briçonnet, who had been one of his students. There he was safe.

During this controversy around him, Lefevre was also passing through a change within himself. At the beginning of 1519 he published the "Legends of the Saints" or the "Acts of the Martyrs." This was a collection of legends intended

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up at the prospect he seemed to behold, exclaimed: "the gospel is winning the hearts of the nobles and of the common people alike. Soon it will spread all over France cast down the inventions which the hand of man has put up." "Then," angrily retorted De Roma, a Dominican friar, "Then I and others like me will join in preaching a crusade and should the King tolerate the proclamation of the Gospel we will drive him from his kingdom by means of his own subjects." Lefevre wrote to Farel, July 6, 1524:

"You can scarcely imagine with what ardor God is moving the minds of the simple in some places to embrace the Word since the books of the New Testament have been published in France, though you will justly lament that they have not been scattered more widely among the people. The attempt has been made to hinder the work under cover of the authority of parliament; but our most gracious King has become in this matter the defender of Christ's cause, declaring it to be his pleasure that his kingdom shall hear the Word of God freely and without hinderance in the language which it understands. At present throughout our entire diocese on feast days and especially on Sunday, both the epistle and gospel are read to the people in the vernacular tongue and the parish priest adds a word of exhortation to the epistle or gospel both at his discretion."

Lambert of Avignon also wrote hopefully, January 20, 1523, to the Elector of Saxony: "France is almost entirely in the Evangelical movement." A cotemporary, chronicling in 1526, said that Meaux was full of the false doctrine of Luther. He made the cause of all the trouble to be Lefevre a priest and scholar, who rejected pictures from the Churches, forbade the use of holy water for the dead and denied the existence of purgatory.

And now begins to appear another great labor of Lefevre's, which revealed his Protestantism. Lefevre, says Döllinger, was not only the first Reformer but also the first *Biblical* Reformer,—that is, he was the first great translator of the Bible into the vernacular. His work on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles was followed in 1522 by his Commentary on the Gospels. In it he maintained "that the Word of God and not the doctrines of men point out the way of salvation. He prayed for a return to the pure faith of the Church of

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Greek and Hebrew critical edition. This until in 1534 he published by the Catholics that it was published and where it was published and departed from the sacred gate. It was destroyed with great rigor by the Protestants. Only one, who has the spiritual principles of the Romanism, namely, that which was denied by the common people, to rank with the translation was the basis of Luther, which it preceded by four years into French. It is worthy of Zurich into it synchronized.

In 1525 came the great test of Lefevre his bishop, had called down on himself the v. lic authorities around him by his Evangelic the leader of Romanism, was especially ac Beda that Erasmus once declared: "In o 3,000 monks." In 1525 came the opportu of Protestantism. The king of France was and taken prisoner to Spain. In his a seized the opportunity. It introduced th Paris. It took action against Briçonnet, the king the more helpless as Margaret, the king gone to Spain to visit Francis. Briçonnet moral courage to resist his superiors. On issued a decree, at the order of parliament ing Luther's doctrines. Lefevre's translati be burned. Lefevre was very awkwardly he go back on his Evangelical views as he would have done so had he been the hitherto depicted by his biographers. No, his Evangelical views and go back to Roma do so, he fled to Germany in company w went to Strassburg where they were gla



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at her court at Nerac, where he translated his attention more and more to the Bible.

But the papal party did not go back. A letter of the papal nuncio in 1531, has recently been exhumed in which he showed that there was correspondence between the papal Church about him. Aleand expressed himself in favor of making

"Lefevre's 'few errors' had at a great moment, because they were published, change or correct the most insignificant translation of the Scriptures when a more important question had come to the mere matter of re-translation with a sound doctrine seemed to be of little or no value. Lefevre but leave the heretical company, and make but the least bit of retraction passages and the whole matter would be

"But though this effort was thus talked out of it, probably because Lefevre was too far from the theological principles.

Just two years before Lefevre's death, two significant events in his life. The first was that Calvin was staying at Angouleme with him. Calvin was staying at Angouleme with him far from Nerac, and he visited Lefevre at Nerac in 1534. Calvin, like all French Protestants of the time, was himself indebted to Lefevre. For although he was a pupil of Lefevre's, yet it had been a pupil of Roussel, who seems to have exerted great influence at the crisis of his life, his conversion. It is a coincidence that just at the time that Lefevre had published a better French version of the Scriptures before existed, there should come to him the young John Calvin, who was to reduce the doctrines of to an orderly arrangement in his "Institutes of Religion." When Calvin arrived at the chateaux and asked for him, they told him Lefevre was "a little bit of a man, Herod, but as lively as gunpowder." Beza says that he received the young man and looked upon him with



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as Elijah transferred his mission and his mantle fell to earth from the field. Lefevre here transferred the spiritual Reformation to Calvin.

The second important event of the "Mass of Seven Points." When Lefevre from Strassburg to live with King Francis, was it on condition that he gave up his views and customs? Not at all, he was as strongly as ever. If he had not, he would not have been a Reformer. But just because he remained a Reformer, for he had sufficient courage to be a Reformer, Roussel, his chaplain, and the Lord's Supper. And he celebrated the Lord's Supper in Protestant fashion. By 1534 it is evident that the Reformers of Nerac still held by the Reformed views, they had not given up hope of gaining France, over to their views. For the last attempt of Margaret to gain over to Evangelical views. It was in 1534 when she visited him at Paris. The mass had been posted placards against the mass had been posted. He replied to her proposal: "You want to unite the whole Church under one man, but that the priests ought to be stripped of their superstitious practices that the Church of its primitive beauty. She has the advantage of the king's weak side. She has the glory he could get, by being an instrument of the Church. She then took from her pocket her request Lefevre had drawn up for the Seven Points." a Confession of Faith for the mass, only Its contents were as follows:

1. It will be a public communion (no priests alone).
2. He will not lift up the host before the people.
3. There will be no adoration of the host.

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"The excellent man, Jamé, who has been one of the most himself cruelly persecuted in bonne, retired to Nerac, close sister of King Francis I. T received that excellent old man him often about many serious having planned to dine with him ber of learned persons. Duri very sad and sometimes shed t asked of him the cause, rally sadness instead of contributi: Madame,' he replied to her, 'I tributing to those of others, be She replied, 'What so great sir seem to have conducted before and innocent?' 'Madame,' he of 101 without having touche remember to have any fault c to charge me. But I have one to be expiated.' The Queen t himself to her. 'Madame,' said can I stand before the judgme purity taught the Gospel of his have suffered death for it, w avoid it, and that at an age, wh rather to have longed for it.' eloquent and who was not igno: a beautiful discourse to him, she the same thing was attained by who reigned with God in heave some great sin which one foun despair of the mercy and goodn at the table joined their consolati The good old man was strengt rest,' said he, 'until I have mad for I believe that he calls me.' Queen, he said, 'Madame, I mak books to Mr. Roussel, and I give to the poor. The rest I comme ingly said, 'But what of the 'Madame, the care of dividing, will do so,' replied the queen, 'a have more joy in that than if I make me his heiress.' Lefevre th he had yet been and said, 'Mada pose.' And to those at the tabl laid himself on his bed and at

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with the Protestants. Thisism, as Doumergue calls such a movement could not fail. The Romish Church reformed, she was too corrupted later he would soon have reformed the Church by the logic of every first Protestant school, the within the Romish Church criticized as it has been. I historically in the development Meaux came the first and the of Nerac came the great Protestant. And from Lefevre came the first for this school to disappear. ing it, did not want it to continue. Lefevre the Lefevre type of the new type of Calvinism came "When Lefevre died, the age of Calvinism was to begin. his school occupy an interesting important link in the Reformation made. And Lefevre, little but grasping like a tiger against the scholasticism when men usually fold their sails. their days, no wonder he at last was. But he stands out in the early Reformation grand figure, especially as we see that he caught his inspiration, Luther, Zwingli, around him to reform the world.

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the Virgin and saints. But a person go, so that we can reply, until a man has a definite test to apply that will do for Protestant of the leaders of the War Catholics are converted but not go through our sense longer have any conscience for them. We can estant test to the Reformation experience of both Luther sufficient fullness to enable if belief in justification by how was it with Luther? doctrine just after the the Romish doctrines as purga that it is a really serious converted.

Again, take the second, when he throws off the pa whether that means, at the or later when he entirely bre

Or take the third,—was reformed only his city? or did of his country?

There is a truth in each of together in the discussion of show as we discuss the matte was first in each of these stage Zwingli's conversion and then I

## A—THE CONVERSI

The conversion of Zwingli We can study it according to t we can study it according to

\*We have taken it up in book, "The Famous Reformers of Churches."

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ken from the truth or allow liars. But the doctrines of d which is infallible." Such And we know that Zwingli y years after when he drew rst Protestant Lord's Supper l Surgant's ideas. The im- ringli was doubtless deepened i Basle, Christopher of Uten- e synod of Basle and ordered st preach the Gospel accord- he read on Sunday. These perimental religion probably

ie to Basle until 1505, in the the question has come up as fore Wyttenbach came there. en made.

ut Catholic until Wyttenbach opened his eyes to the Evan- e. This was the old view. Zwingli came to Basle already humanism especially through d others. And that when he, is sophistries of the scholastic niversity of Basle, his liberal rowness and he inclined to This is the view held by the Stahelin. And it would seem Myconius, the first biographer Basle:

se of things demanded it, he in the scholastic form. What since it was such a jumble of d, inane loquacities, barbarities, escription, that no sane doctrine 1 it."

while at Basle came under sus- he defended some of the theses tirandola, which had been con-

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demned by the pope. Of this influence  
later.

One thing, however, is certain, that these views is held, Wytttenbach became in Zwingli's life. For Wytttenbach con- tendencies that had been in Zwingli be to them others which made him the grea reformatory views. Fortunate was it came under the tutelage of such a man yet so holy and spiritual.

As the life of Wytttenbach is compa- his value in Reformation history is just- nized, we will pause upon it. He was an Lefevre, whose fame was recognized a though humble, he was Evangelical even as we have seen was Evangelical bef- Zwingli. As early as 1506, twelve year taught at Basle the two fundamental do- ism, namely, (1) the supreme authority salvation by Christ and not through Ma- before either Luther or Zwingli denou- dulgences, he donounced them as a fraud Luther at Wittenberg, he had a dispu Basle in 1506. So that in Wytttenbach t other Reformer beside Lefevre, who w may, however, be replied that there we Wytttenbach, who, although in the Cath indulgences. Thus John Wessels, one c fore the Reformation," was imprisoned indulgences. But we reply that Wessels of a different class from Wytttenbach. directly connected with the Reformati- was very directly connected with it. I its founders. And he himself later bec- For he later became the Reformer of B- Luther was made a Reformer by naili- Wytttenbach was an earlier Reformer thing at Basle in 1506.

Thomas Wytttenbach was born at Bern, in 1472. He was the son of the

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the school in his native town and universities to study for the priesthood. He went to the university of Tübingen in southern Germany, where he met Erasmus of Reuchlin, the leader with Erasmus of the Reuchlinian movement. Reuchlin's Evangelical tendency was a fact that in 1499, while at Stuttgart, he was of the neighboring monastery of Reuchlin. This work was published of preaching. This work was published its Evangelical tendency in urging acquainted with the Bible. It is easy to see of such a man would influence an like Wyttenbach. The latter remained in Basle, taking the degree of Master of Arts in 1509, when he also came under the influence of Wyttenbach, who taught him that many of the things which were then taught would have to be set aside and that a renovation of theology from Scripture was necessary.

Wyttenbach went to Basle in November 1509, when at the university he lectured on the great text-book at that time, the "Sentences of Lombard." He was well-versed on the New Testament, especially on the Epistles of the Romans. He was thoroughly familiar with the Vulgate, but to them he added a profound knowledge of the Bible, and out of the barren deserts of scholasticism, so common at that time, it was his delight to lead his pupils to the sources of God's Word. He was a man with a great deal of energy at age. And he soon gathered around him a set of young men. Thus Leo Juda, who was studying medicine at that time, was influenced to study theology. He afterward became Zwingli's great helper in the Reformation. Zwingli was before to have been somewhat undecided, having been attracted by humanism and in love with his teacher, but he was decided under Wyttenbach's inspiration to study the Bible. Capito and Pellican, later also Reformers, the former at Zurich, the latter at Zurich, seem to have come in touch with Wyttenbach at that time more or less. Wyttenbach was like Lefevre, though in a lesser degree, the father of the Reformation. We have already mentioned four. And to them we have added Haller, the Reformer of Bern, who later at

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Bern, was influenced by Wyttenbach  
Leo Juda thus writes to the  
Wyttenbach:

"From your city came forth the most learned men of that age as a result of his many acquirements. Zwingli and in 1505. Under his guidance, from he was equally at home, we passed study of the Bible. His sagacity discerned the events of coming years, the doctrine of indulgences and other ground for many centuries Rome had held in bondage. Whatever of thoroughness he owed it to him and must remain his due

Pellican was there as teacher of the melite monks and he also aided the publications of the works of Augustine. He declared that at that time he gained from the Fathers the first doubts about indulgence, substantiation, confession and the papacy.

Wyttenbach later apologized to Zwingli at Basle a babbling of scholasticism and his time on the trifles of sophistry.\* June 15, 1523, consoling him that the custom of the age and added that he had given encouragement to all not to free themselves from such fetters. What Wyttenbach's letter, we know not, unless it was the sentences of Lombard he naturally followed the method then in vogue. From the Old Testament he could hardly do otherwise. But in the New Testament he seems to have departed from Lombard by the truths of the Bible. He pointed out to his students the great corruption and attacked this and also held up the Scripture. He made Zwingli get to

\*The scholastic theologians would not allow their students, as whether after the resurrection were possible; or whether God's almighty Son the shape of a stone and how a stone could be raised by miracles. A fanatical Franciscan assured that it was done as much for the Church as the apostles.



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n:  
of Scripture. Wyttenbach said to his

distant when the scholastic theology  
the old doctrine of the Church estab-  
foundation of God's Word."

doctrine was that Christ is the sole  
1527 Zwingli says he had learned

t was the sole price of remission of  
that unlocks the treasury of that re-

that he gets at the Evangelical doc-  
om Lefevre or Luther. With him it  
ification by faith as with them, but  
ement of Christ.

second doctrine, Zwingli was led to  
trine that was then very prominent,  
if Christ's death is the one sufficient  
need is there for such a thing as  
h, and not indulgences, is the cause  
ing li thus wrote in 1523:

1519, none of us had ever heard of  
published something against in-  
dich I did not require much enlight-  
ady been taught what a cheat and  
by my master and beloved teacher,  
l, who had held at Basle some time  
putation on the subject."

years before Luther, attacked the  
phesied the time was not far dis-  
aside and the old doctrines of the  
Fathers restored in its stead.

eat service to Zwingli at Basle.  
have seen, under the influence of  
ch became his teacher. He could  
e, yes often the contradiction, be-  
and the scholastic theology. To  
uch a contradiction between them

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that they could not be harmed by his mind with great power, and harmony, instead of a cold humanism, that by making all were harmonized. Wyttenbach, on the other hand, the usefulness of humanism to a scholarly examination of the other hand, the usefulness prevent it from becoming a use. True theology was the application. Wyttenbach communicated to him to search the Bible in the later study of the Greek and Latin.

We thus see the tremendous influence of Zwingli. It was Wyttenbach's former. He planted, as Leo J. afterward came to harvest in the greatest influence that came in not show its full power till ten

Zwingli never forgot the influence made on him, or the debt he owed back on him as the greatest of letters to Haller, the Reformer. Wyttenbach who was then with then "his dear preceptor." In his most learned and holiest of his correspondence with Zwingli a latter was greatly strengthened and only one letter has come dated 1523. Wyttenbach, though he had now looked up to his pupil as taught about the Lord's Supper; and still affectionately his teacher, says: "I will gladly give the Lord's Supper) not that you are in error, you may correct me and I explain to his former teacher, the Lord's Supper over against transubstantiation as he does baptismal regeneration. Sacraments, faith is necessary in order

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de of the Lord's Supper over  
f the Catholics.

ch, let us for a moment pause on  
in 1507, a year after Zwingli left  
ve place, Biel, as priest. In 1515  
Bern as priest. There he threw  
and joined the Reformed. He  
nation. For Haller, later the Re-  
together and Wyttenbach taught  
taught Zwingli. He thus helped  
nd thus added another Reformer  
In 1522, because he opposed the  
against Luther he left Bern and  
e place, to become its Reformer.  
ion by preaching mightily against  
at sin is not a thing to be bought.  
d the celibacy of the priests. He  
s congregation, especially among  
om, Squire Nicholas Wyttenbach,  
ach was one of the first priests to  
sified ecclesiastical authority; and  
ngs. Many of the leading citizens  
attend his services because he was  
mplains against him before the  
hat time mainly Catholic. This  
town of Biel against him. The  
all married priests and especially  
rom them their financial support.  
that the marriage of priests was  
He preached a month longer in  
ad to leave it. He then preached  
ouses of those friendly to Evan-  
t crowds in the chapel. The city  
the parsonage and he lost its  
ore became very poor. But he  
e truth and many rallied around  
mpelled to leave Biel. He went  
worn out by his privations and  
at the age of 54. He died just  
le over a year longer, until after

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the Bern Conference made : formed, he would have had come Reformed and with it suffered so much. But his in vain. For a strong body the nucleus of the Protestant Biel honors his memory as it.

Returning again to Zwir first charge, in 1506. There to have slumbered for a time novelty of his work as priest parish was large, including of Glarus. But when the first to wear off we find him rev had given him.

First of all he opened a h tenbach had revealed to him t ough scholarship. And as he teaching at Basle for four ye versity) he gathered around h men of the leading families of wards became famous as Tschu ness to Zwingli's rare ability a them not only education but al

2. He also shows Wytten Glarus the study of the Greek had sought means to study it b it until 1513. He wrote thus

"I am applying my ignora and Latin. I do not know who of Greek unless it is God. I d for I do not look for that. Bu sacred literature."

How often do great men t casting their shadows before, as of which they do not at the tim

In 1523 he related at the "Ten years ago I began the st might learn the teaching of Chr He studied Greek without

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he left Glarus that he could already Testament.

nuine study of the Bible while at already mentioned, came from the Wytttenbach. In 1522 he thus ime:

I was as much devoted to worldly e. And when seven or eight years he study of the Bible, I was com- of the jarring philosophy and Scriptures and the Word of God, on: you must leave them all alone the Word out of the Word itself. His light; and then the Scriptures elligible when I read them myself ich commentary and exposition of that was a sign that God was lead- I have come to such a conclusion ding."

the Bible he had already at Glarus the Bible and Jerome. We thus t Glarus under the impulse given fore.

e beginning of this chapter, that o have an influence; and before ice two local influences that came are him to become a Reformer. ne. He had gone with the Swiss their chaplain. This helped to the papacy. For there was an , the worse Christian." Out of osition to the foreign mercenary

His sermon at Monza to the lty to their pledges, made for later burgomaster of Zurich, pope, instead of trying to heal ions, tried to intensify them so although Zwingli did not break olitical reaction against foreign ared him for his later reaction It was the entering wedge for

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further cleavage between the pope and the people.  
The second was a *liturgical* one in two ways:

(A) The first came to him in Milan that the mass of that Church of his Church at Glarus in some part previously made the same discovery at Milan differed from his mass and intercession for the public magistracy about the matter:

"Either Ambrose, from whom changes in the Roman mass without sure, or the Roman ritual had taken of Ambrose. In either case the liturgy and subject to change."

This disposed of the claim of liturgy was the same at all times with

(B) A second liturgical influence in the land. He says:

"It was while pastor at Glarus, north of Glarus, an Obsequy was complete. And there stood a La immediately after the infant had been sacrament of the Lord's Supper before including the chalice containing the practise was observed in the canton could not find out, but surely it was not in Mollis, the Lord's Supper was administered."

He thus received his first Protestant Lord's Supper, that the wine as well given to the laity.

We have thus followed the infant Zwingli's life up to nearly the close of it. But now a new influence begins to touch our list—the Erasmian. But before we note that there is a third person besides Erasmus, who has been mentioned as having been considerably, namely, John Picus of

\* That is a book for baptism, burial

## ED REFORMATION

nfluence on him at Basle and later y Myconius' Biography, where he Basle (1502-6) "because he had not ohn Picus of Mirandola, was se- lockheads as a heretic." But what Zwingli refused to condemn, were, hirteen theses condemned, perhaps

oss of Christ, nor any image ought worship."

ie body of Christ to be present at sion of the substance of the bread ate of being bread." (Mirandola doctrine of remanence, for which not all of the bread was changed that some of it remained bread. octrine of transubstantiation.)

This is my body,' uttered at the not to be taken as an actual fact, that is, as a mere recital. (This, transubstantiation, for the Catho- erance of these words performed ad into the body of Christ.)

nich of them he refused to con- s is shown by the fact that Sig- he theses as most likely to have ole subject is so uncertain that as one of the great influences in nference that can be made about ;shows that Zwingli was inclined

luenced by a nephew of Picus, influenced him toward election, not understand why Calvinists a so chary of Zwingli. Perhaps ews of original sin where he they can get election,—all they i's sermon on Providence. Had le life, he might have been able e extremes of statement. On

## WHO WAS THE F

election, Providence, and some guage like that of the younger

### III. THE CRITIC

The third humanistic in Erasmus, like those of the but while theirs was a Church humanism. It also differed from thoroughly Evangelical.

Erasmus was undoubtedly the humanists. His publications had all over Europe. Zwingli came to his pastorate at Glarus. In the autumn of 1515, Erasmus received a letter from Erasmus, couched in the most flattering terms, and to great praise. When Erasmus, after his return to Basle in 1515, Zwingli visited him in 1516. And after his return home to Basle, Erasmus wrote a letter full of fulsome praise and a reply.\* The influence of Erasmus is shown by the fact that several of his letters were found in Zwingli's library. Of these the most important is Erasmus' "Handbook of a Christian Man." This was a popular handbook, described by Zwingli as "a little book" which was first printed in 1503, but Zwingli probably came to his association with Erasmus. This work was so popular that it could be sold for its simplicity so that it could be sold for a religion of mere outward form.

It was this work of Erasmus that led to the Catholic doctrine of intercession and doctrinal doubt about Romanism. It was as if men were perishing because they would not accept of a religion of mere outward form alone. Zwingli says (1523):

"I shall not withhold from you, Jesus, how it was that I arrived at the truth. We need no other Mediator than Christ."

\* Both letters are given by Jackson in 78-81.



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mediate between God and man. Eight or  
a consolatory poem on the Lord Jesus,  
indly learned Erasmus of Rotterdam, in  
autiful words, Jesus complains that men  
in him, so that he might be to them a  
Saviour, comfort and treasure of the  
well, if it is really so, why then should  
creature. And although I found other  
same Erasmus on St. Anna, St. Michael  
he calls upon the saints of whom he wrote,  
he this fact could not deprive me of the  
st was the only treasure of our poor souls.  
o examine the Bible and the writings of  
out if I could learn from them concerning  
the saints. To be brief, I have not found  
hereupon I reflected: If that is so, why  
up from any creature."\*

Zwingli wrote February 20, 1519:

remember to have received such fruit from  
compass. May God grant that this noble  
may long beat for us, so that it regales us  
et honey at the table of Christ."

as, Zwingli lost faith in one of the fundaments  
of the Romish Church, the intercession of  
was the only mediator and the saints were  
his idea of Erasmus was built on a previous  
each had put into his mind and which had  
here, namely, that sins are forgiven, not by  
out by the ransom of Christ. It was Erasmus  
the seed thought planted by Wyttenbach ten  
as iron sharpeneth iron," so Erasmus sharp-  
's teaching. Together they made Zwingli a  
true what our Savior said: "One soweth and  
Erasmus' idea would not have been the  
the fire had not Wyttenbach laid the wood  
oom of any man's life how marvelously the  
fferent men are interwoven by the hand of  
us wrote in a letter:

I taught. Yes it is true, why seek our help  
ire. Christ is the sole treasure of our poor

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soul. Then searching for what  
ing the intercession of the saint  
Therefore Jesus is the Source of  
Saviour and our only hope."

Erasmus thus led Zwingli to  
not Biblical. Erasmus gave Zw  
but he stopped there. But Zwing  
carried out the logic of Erasmus'  
the key, Zwingli unlocked the doo  
used to be, "Erasmus laid the egg  
Luther hatched it." But this was  
of Luther. For Zwingli was far mo  
Erasmus than was Luther. For whi  
Luther was indirect, on Zwingli it wa  
So that the proverb ought to be ch  
the egg of the reformation and Zwingl

Such was the state of mind in wl  
and went to Einsiedeln\* to be preacher  
beliefs were beginning to crumble. Th  
ing more and more the form by which h  
Then just at that psychological moment,  
open condition, came in May, 1516, the  
mus to him: "The Greek New Testament  
stand how great a boon this was to him, i  
that there was no Greek Testament in circ  
the Latin, the sacred language of the I  
completely supplanted it. Zwingli, with h  
edge of Greek, could get at the Greek N  
as its verses were scattered here and there  
of Church Fathers. But now a book came t  
to read the Greek Testament as a whole. i  
long, with his previous predilections to liber  
the difference between the Greek New T

\* We might pause here to note the local int  
Zwingli at Einsiedeln after leaving Glarus. The g  
sion of the place and the lack of pastoral dutie  
time for study. The gross superstitions of the p  
produced in him a reaction against saint-worship. H  
a circle of congenial spirits in Geroldseck, the ad  
Abbey, Ochslin, and Zink, the papal chaplain.

## ERASMUS AND REFORMATION

day. So great was his devotion to it, 517, he copied all the Epistles of Paul in a form for his own private use, for it was a large, heavy folio work. This copy, was called a "Paulinus," and is at the library at Zurich. But he did more than that. He committed whole Epistles to the press of great service to him when he got into contact with the Catholics. For he literally translated the Word of God.

Erasmus we will pause a moment to mention in connection with Zwingli. Zwingli got from Erasmus the idea of sin and guilt. Also, according to Erasmus who gave him the first suggestion of the phrase: "This is the Word of God." Zwingli generalized his views over against the Catholic Church and his Reformation to be more rationalistic, while Luther emphasized the sacraments. Later Zwingli visited Erasmus in 1522 he invited him to come to Zurich, but he came estranged from Zwingli because of his reforms.

Thus influenced Zwingli, it was after that to his mind the mould in which his recent biographers of Zwingli treat the main influence that led him toward the Reformation. They forget that Wyttenbach's influence was powerful (Zwingli refers to it as coming from Erasmus in being a more rationalistic). We have forgotten to note the difference between Erasmus the humanist and Wyttenbach the Reformer. For the two seed-thoughts that were in his mind now came to fruitage in the Reformation, namely, the supremacy of the Word of God and the completeness of Christ's atonement. Erasmus was before Wyttenbach before he knew the Reformation went farther than Erasmus. Erasmus used the world by his criticisms of the Church, and he was willing to critically revise the text of the Bible. He came out boldly saying that the

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Bible was the rule of faith. against a religion of outward the Scripture over against the was too much of a time-server things against the Church, but her constitution or her authority got his inspiration from Wyttenmus. He emphasized the Bible atonement as the only source of gested the doubt to Zwingli about but he never went farther, as did is our only intercessor and we do

It is very interesting to note Wyttenbach come to harvest at E

The first was the supremacy of how this was growing in him as it thus speaks of himself at Einsede

"I began to preach the gospel before any one in my locality had s For I never left the pulpit without gospel in the mass service of the by means of Scripture."

He thus began preaching on the pericopes or Scripture lessons:

"Study the Scriptures," he said understand them, study Jerome. He come, with God's help, when Jerome esteemed by Christians, but only the

Before he left Einsiedeln he was expected to preach on the Gospel of as he later did at Zurich.

The second seed-thought of Wytvest at Einsiedeln was his emphasis of Christ. Erasmus only went so far love, but he never taught his complete in his "History of the Reformation" p

"He preached the Gospel with a and taught especially that Christ was be prayed to and worshipped and n

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was by many unheard because un-  
known were pious, it was acceptable. It  
seemed that he was permitted to preach  
because he was so superstitious."

ached Christ and his forgiveness at  
theologically as positively; that is, he  
Christ in its fullness, so that Mary  
was shadowed and forgotten. He did not  
the positive Gospel. But even this  
endowed moral courage on the part  
of Luther says, there was not a more super-  
stitious. Yet there in that Abbey, over  
tradition, was the sign: "Here sins  
in Mary," he preached that sins are  
in that abbey, whose greatest prize  
the Virgin said to have fallen from  
day by hundreds as an idol, he held  
righteousness, over against the black  
admired Luther's bravery at Witten-  
burg was forgotten to notice that here at  
the bravery and heroism as Zwingli  
in the cradle of the old. No one  
in that abbey. As a result, pil-  
grimage to find forgiveness of sin  
led to forgiveness by faith in Jesus

and we have two testimonies. One  
Luther wrote to Zwingli, November 5,  
sermon on Pentecost (1518) at Ein-  
siedeln, based on the story of the paralytic

by a discourse of yours, so elegant,  
clear, incisive and Evangelical, wholly  
of the old theologians, a discourse  
paralytic in Luke 5 at the Church of  
Einsiedeln, a year and a half ago, at the  
discourse, I say, so inflamed me that  
my affection for Zwingli, to look up

humanist, Beatus Rhenanus of Basle,  
1518:

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"I know well that you and your pure doctrine of Christ, not according to scholastics, but as shown in its origin by Augustine, an Ambrose, a Cyprian, and others bring forward their babbling of pope, of indulgences, of purgatory, of vows (of monkhood) or of hellish things bring forth in your sermons the leading doctrine of Christ as if it were painted on a wall and was sent by God to earth to teach us and to bring it about that the world with its dominion and power is despised and that the land is sought with a whole heart. This is the doctrine which stands out more prominently than anything else to belong to men."

As a result of Zwingli's emphasis of Christ, two other correlated doctrines

The first was his opposition to indulgences. He came into the neighborhood of Einsiedeln in the summer of 1518. Zwingli denounced incessantly that Samson went away. Late in the year at Zurich early in 1519 and by it Samson ultimately drove Samson and the indulgences out of Switzerland. Zwingli says later (1523) that his opposition to indulgences from Luther

"A subject in which I did not require (by Luther) because I had been already warned and delusion indulgences were by my faithful teacher, Dr. Thomas Wyttenbach

A letter has come down to us from Luther written by Zwingli from Basle, December 1518, says: "I have laughed a great deal at the indulgences whom you depicted so vividly in your

This remark has been exaggerated by biographers as if it showed that Zwingli despised the matter of indulgences seriously but merely as a joke. Luther says: "He had no appreciation of the conduct of the pope in selling them." And very favorable to Zwingli have used it to show that Luther realized the deadly character of indulgences and just joked about them. But we ask of them if it merely as a joke and did not realize the

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it that Samson was driven away from Einsiedeln, the place in all Switzerland where he would have been apt to find support? Mere jokes don't produce serious results. The cause they give is not sufficient to explain the gross superstitions, will realize how hard it must have been to have produced such a result. Yet Zwingli did it and he could not have done it by mere frivolity. No, he himself endorses Wytttenbach's remarks that indulgences were a fraud and cheat and that makes them more than a joke.

Again this letter of Hedio's is in itself an answer to their inference. He says:

"For it does not escape me that you and those like you bring forth to the people the pure philosophy of Christ. You, in preaching to your congregation, show the whole doctrine of Christ, briefly displayed as in a picture: how Christ was sent down to earth by God to teach us the will of the Father to show us that this world, i. e., riches, honor, authority, pleasure and all that kind of thing, are to be condemned so that the heavenly country can be sought with the whole heart, to teach us peace and concord, country, parents, relatives, health and affections, concerning that poverty and disadvantages of our possessions, to declare that poverty and disadvantages of our life are not real evils."

All this does not intimate the inference that has been drawn from it that Zwingli was merely joking about indulgences. But it shows that there was something deeper than that which we have thus seen on it. We have thus seen how Zwingli's fundamental doctrine the Scriptures also a second doctrine founded by Zwingli and the atonement led to the denial of indulgences. There was also at Einsiedeln by Zwingli and the Church must be reformed and Capito, in a poor foundation. Bullinger thus wrote: "Before Luther became prominent Zwingli and the papacy rested on a letter from St. Peter's secretary of Uri, says: (1517) at Einsiedeln and then at Einsiedeln, state secretaries of Uri, says: Lord Cardinal of Sion, that the pope must fall, as early as 1517."

"Eight years ago a fine time proved to

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papacy rested on a false foundation to Scripture. The noble head of the abbey), Master Fr Sander, all three yet living, are mentioned cardinal has frequently in this way, 'If God restores me to time in disgrace with the pope) pride and falsehood of the corrected."

Zwingli said to Pucci, the p

"I will openly declare and be dissension arose in the Church, I witnessed to mighty cardinals, errors in doctrine, which are abolished them to remove abuses of in a more dreadful revolution."

Bullinger also says that at Hugo, bishop of Constance, to pure Word of God and to remove tions. He says that Zwingli made Schinner, the papal legate in Switzerland to throw discredit on these Reformation so early. But in Bullinger's testimony. Our reply testimony as a historian can not confess that we would prefer Bullinger, a cotemporary, to the Church historians of nearly four Hagenbach used to answer such money of Bullinger sufficient." So have taken place or why did the of his acolyte chaplains September corroborates Bullinger's statements; par. For what Zwingli said was stir as Rome began taking measure do so by fulminating a bull again Luther. It did not dare do that, badly the Swiss soldiers in his army crush Luther by force, he tried to Antonio Pucci used his influence wember 1, 1518, announced to Zwing



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earning, had made him an acolyte from some acclesiastical censures. or seems later to have been followed ch higher positions in the Romish witness to this in his Exposition of tion on January, 1523:

rs previously to 1520 been preach- stress, on which account I received sts and legates with whom the city nd earnest counsels with threats and ifts and benefices."

ted Zink what the pope had offered was: "Everything except the papal

that Zwingli began his Reformation open break occurred there between lid there for that matter occur with nailed up the theses in 1517. But ne Protestant doctrines of the su- the full atonement of Christ. He n his letter to Juda (December 17, ne his successor at Einsedeln. "The ed and willing hears *Christ* preached : that at this great pilgrimage place gli says not a word about her. But

elin, that if Zwingli had been preaching edeln, he never could have been elected ffman the leader of the Catholic party : not impress us deeply. For there are to consideration. First of all it is to be not yet been drawn at that time between e humanists like Zwingli. Second and he higher Church officials above Canon Constance, were favorable to humanism strong influence of humanism that com- iocese. And thirdly Stahelin seems to es 128-9, he says that Hoffman declared of preaching he had often attacked the

If Hoffman did this, it is not to be to the election of Zwingli even if the e Evangelical Gospel at Einsedeln.

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We can not therefore agree with Zwingli that at Einsiedeln Zwingli's theory is based mainly on a theological examination of Zwingli's notes in the examination of Zwingli's character to him. He claimed that Zwingli's character in 1519 and that relying on his notes were only humanistic and did not trines of grace. And Stahelin has followed some biographers place Zwingli's beginning as late as 1520 and 1521, and so Lutherans as Tschackert place it as late as discrediting Zwingli so as to help Luther. always somewhat looked down on Zwingli a German and only a Swiss. Thus the case been recently prejudiced by German Church their Lutheran bias has aided this.

The trouble with the opponents of Zwingli ever it is asserted that Zwingli said he began independently of Luther, yes before he declare that he said this through jealousy of Jackson echoes this. But let us look at this a moment. Zwingli shows his entire lack of Luther:

1. By the fact that when Luther's writings he highly commended that they be read. Stumpf at Basle, July 2, 1519: "Have the copies of the Lord's Prayer distributed everywhere, both in city and among the unlearned people as priests." Does that look like jealousy? the same nature could be given.\* Zwingli Other copies of the pope's bann against Luther also qu months at Zurich. Does that look like jealousy? say what he believes to be the truth, as Luther being charged with being jealous? Ca
2. The same kind of argument Luther that, because he spoke against Zwingli did

\* See Jackson, "Huldreich Zwingli," might be used allusions to Luther. Zwingli, he was

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of him, which is not true. Then neither is this charge at Zwingli true. Zwingli did later, it is true, have a controversy with Luther on the Lord's Supper, but there was jealousy on either side in it. It was with each a question of principle.

3. The basis of their argument against Zwingli is the theory that Zwingli was only a humanist at Einsiedeln. As to this, we would call attention to several facts in Zwingli's life which can not be explained by that theory.

(A) How does it come that Zwingli was preaching the ransom of Christ at Einsiedeln? No humanist ever did that. Humanists emphasized the Bible, though not in the full Protestant sense as the supreme guide over against the Romish Church as the supreme authority. But the doctrine of Christ's finished work, no humanist had ever gotten up to. Erasmus had emphasized Christ and made Christianity consist of love. But he never got up to Christ's complete atonement as the only ransom, or to Christ's sacrifice as all-sufficient over against the intercession of saints and angels as Zwingli did. This was an entirely new doctrine, that "Christ died once for all" (Hebrews 10:10.) Now since Zwingli preached this doctrine, as Bullinger says at Einsiedeln, he was more than a humanist—he was a Protestant.

2. How does it come about, if he were only a humanist, that Zwingli when he first came to Zurich began preaching on the Gospel at Matthew, verse by verse? No humanist would ever have undertaken so radical a change as to set aside the time-honored pericopes or Scripture-lessons that the Catholic Church had used for hundreds of years. The Romish service had become a hard and fast service of form. To deviate from it in the slightest degree was regarded as heresy. We have seen this in the case of Lefevre when he departed from the Romish calendar by saying there were three Marys instead of one. What a storm it brought about his head. Who ever heard of a humanist doing what Zwingli did in introducing such an innovation into the mass service at Zurich. The theory that Zwingli was only a humanist fails to account for this great change at Zurich at the very beginning of his ministry. He must have been a Biblicist before that to have done that is, when he was at Einsiedeln. Indeed while yet at

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Zurich whether he would be willing to preach the God in Zurich." He replied, "Yes, for if the grace of God is proclaimed and received in so renowned a place, of Switzerland will soon follow the example." The sal testimony of his contemporaries was that he began the reformation at Einsiedeln.

But the greatest argument is the testimony of Zwingli himself. He certainly knew when he began it. He is the one most of all ought to know about it. He universally placed Einsiedeln and not at Zurich. Three times he said he began Einsiedeln.\* Jackson is right when he says that Zwingli began his arrival at Evangelicalism while he was at Einsiedeln.† Zwingli knew better than German Lutheran historians or theorists like Usteri who lived nearly four hundred years later.

The truth is that those who make Zwingli only a humanist forget to note a peculiarity in his conversion. They say he was first a humanist and then a Protestant. But they forget to note a peculiarity in his conversion to which we have called attention, namely, that there were different kinds of humanists. Their theory might be true, if Zwingli had come only from Erasmus' influence to Protestantism. But they forget that he first came under the strong Biblical, Evangelical influence of Wytttenbach before he had come under mere critical humanism under Erasmus. It was Wytttenbach's influence that made Zwingli a Reformer though Erasmus woke that up in him. But we have seen, he quickly went beyond Erasmus, because he had had Wytttenbach before as his teacher. The Biblical humanist in his case came before the critical humanist. And this made him a Reformer earlier as at Einsiedeln than mere critical humanism would have done.

So then when was Zwingli converted and when did he preach the Gospel? He mentions two dates, 1516 and 1517. Archeteles (1522)† he says:

Zwingli's Works, Schuler and Schulthess edition I 253, III 117. We shall in a moment give these references. We are surprised that Jackson contradicts himself by placing 1520.

English Translation, Vol. I, 198, Preface.

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"But now for about six years best of my ability with the talent when the Lord came and demand fully bring forth forward with talent."

In his work against Luther

"I thank my knowledge of the Gospel the study of John and A diligent reading of Paul for my contents of the Gospel. This of ago with my own hands, while y to domineer since eight years (15

2. Zwingli in his letter to speaks of the work of Evangelica years ago" (1516).\* There is al which we shall give in a moment.

The references that place it i

1. Zwingli in his letter to C

"I have often shown with Zion eight years ago (1517) at that the whole papacy had a po ways by the power of the Gospo

He must have felt that that breach, for he said in 1520:†

"I had for three years, pr pel with earnestness,—on the receive the pension of fifty before God and all the world upon the pope."

This is proved by the Bullinger. Myconius says (En

"An opportunity was offer for the time being seemed a course of men from almost all was the name of the place, attr able opportunity to preach Christ

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that humble submission to the will of God that there must be added thereto the glad

Not until the turning of the year 1516-7 did his pastoral doubts about the certainty of his monkish aversion to the thought that a confidently count on the mercy of God infringe on humility.\* He had by this time reformatory criticism of conditions of the thing he lacked, the clear recognition that he not only dared be sure of his salvation, certain of it."

reserved Smith, the author of "Luther's says:

tures (1513-5) he no longer lays the whole as he apparently did in his first monastic other hand he has not yet arrived at the ne)."

er thus vacillated between justification by on by works, he had settled one point. He scholastic theology formulated by Aquinas Aristotle and had taken up Biblical Theology. of 1517 he had succeeded in getting Bibli- he university at Wittenberg.

thunder-clap in his theses against indul- 1517. For this brave act Luther deserves file he was thus gradually coming toward tion by faith, he does not reveal it in granted by Lutheran writers. Thus the ne excellent edition of Luther's Works, in English, say so in their introduction the the Ninety-five Theses. They say:

destined to become the watchword of not occur in them, the validity to for- in is reserved cases, is admitted within simply: "What is virtue?"† Proof of this than Luther himself gives edition of his Works in 1545, when he

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"When I took up this matter again, so full and drunken, yea so besotted in part of my great zeal, I would gladly have been helped that murder should be done on all obedient and subject to the pope, even in

And in 1520 Luther wrote: "Some time I wrote a little book on indulgences which having published, for at that time I should not altogether be rejected, seen proved by the common consent of men published a year after he nailed up the indulgences when he nailed up the

For Protestant readers of these theses their Protest them as a Catholic would or as one could like Luther would. We must disabuse Protestant standpoint and view them from point from which Luther came. Thus first of these theses: "Our Lord and Master he said "Do penance." Now Protest translated "do penance" by "repentance" idea of repentance is not at all the idea of doing penance. And this "doing penance" was in accord with the Catholic doctrine of indulgences were based on that (Koestlin, "up to 1517 saw no other should confess to the priest, secure session of the saints, which he justified his sermons he invoked the Virgin."

What Luther was attacking in 1. The abuses of the indulgences the scandals of the traffic. This was especially the money abuses the indignation. The sale of indulgences farmed out by the pope to the Fugger of Augsburg, and to the Archbishop of Cologne, and to them for the sales. The abuses given to them for the sales. The abuses had gotten hold of the business

\*English Translation of Luther's

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ls.  
specially attacked were *papal* abuses,\* those  
ame from the pope and which really inter-  
lulgences given by the priests in their par-  
f these *papal* indulgences took a great deal  
he hands of the German priests and princes  
en to Rome. It was depleting their coffers.  
son why some of them opposed the sale of  
was an important reason why Luther re-  
pport from the German princes. Thus Duke  
y, though later an opponent of Luther, on  
was greatly pleased at Luther's checking the

ie standpoint of Protestantism, the opposite  
faith and not the *papal* pardons, which  
a these theses. It is faith over against justi-  
upon which the whole system of indulgences  
t is what Luther would have championed had  
rotestant. But not a word about faith does  
here in the theses. On the contrary he says  
ho speaks against the truth of 'apostolic par-  
anathema and accursed."  
hing that Luther objected to in indulgences  
ver of indulgences extended into *purgatory*.  
papal power was only temporal and did not  
ry,—indulgences were only for penalties im-  
Therefore the pope's indulgences could not  
tzel had declared that

is the grotschen in the casket rings  
abled soul from *purgatory* springs."  
thus protested against the indulgences affect-  
he theses reveal that he was a firm believer  
But how, according to our Protestant concep-  
ld to justify faith and yet believe in  
is built entirely on justification by works;  
s to do with the arrears in works that the soul

5, 6, 33, 34, 38, 45, 48, 49, 75, 76 show this.  
11, 16, 17, 22, 25, 29, 35, 82, 84.



## WHO WAS THE FIRST R

All honor to Luther for his cour-  
theses, but it is evident that he was  
and had not clearly come out to justifi-  
can believe what he says in his other  
that time he was oscillating between  
and justification by faith; but had not c-  
to faith to boldly attack indulgences, w/  
denial of justification by works.

It is an interesting psychological  
Luther could thus endorse the papal  
founded on justification by works a-  
toward justification by faith. How  
gether at the same time seems con-  
stant. But it was not so to the Catl  
to contraries at the same time. For  
often a religion of contradictions. A  
be made of Luther's case, that he wa  
great Church Father and model, Au-  
to two contradictory views of reli-  
and Evangelicalism,—that is, he held  
tismal regeneration and on the othe  
to the former, man's act (the priest's  
according to the latter, God's act s-  
of his own good pleasure. Such co  
in Catholicism. This is shown by  
Trent in the sixteenth century when  
justification by works and justifica-  
the question and held to both. A  
that be done. Very easily said the  
That council taught justification by  
grace) at baptism, and by works a-  
Church has ever been a Church of  
ing these things we can the more  
frame of mind at that time.

Such was Luther when he nail-  
of transition. No, it was not until  
to clearer views on justification  
1518 he went to Heidelberg  
Augustinian Order. While there  
subject of free-will. From this it

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rd justification by faith. For the slavery debated there was the foundation of justification. Oestlin says (Theology of Luther I, 285) views of justification most fully in his 'Of the Twofold Righteousness' and 'Of the Two'. Those pamphlets appeared after the Alberg, which was held in the spring of 1518. Before place Luther's full declaration of somewhere in the summer of 1518. We have fully studied the conversion of both we are now ready to answer the question, Luther or Zwingli. According to our Reformer he became such when he had begun preaching Evangelical doctrines. If we have Zwingli preaching his Protestant finished work as Mediator in 1517, probably just about the time when Luther nailed his theses on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg. But that was about six months later. It came out clearly and decidedly on justification the summer of 1518. An additional proof is given by Hedio, who said that he had heard an Evangelical sermon on the text, "But the power to forgive sin." This sermon was preached at the Diet of Worms, 1518, which was before Luther's theses on justification by faith to which we have before concluded that according to our first Reformer, Zwingli was before Luther, because justification came before Luther did. Justification by Zwingli came out more fully than Luther, for the basis of justification by faith. There is deeper than Luther, even to the root of the matter, whereas Luther emphasized the result of justification. It is both, thank God, came to the great first Protestant faith.

## CHA HARMONY OF THE LUTHERAN

We have thus far followed the time of the conversion of Luther to continue the study of his work at Wittenberg and at Zurich the four Gospels have greatly enriched our Lord, why not here enable us to understand it better goes, no such harmony has ever therefore place the events at its side as they take place. In this the subject. And we will be busy of the Reformation step by step.

We will begin with the year actually covered the ground up to is a good year to begin with; it Zwingli began his work at Zurich great public defenses by his Leipzig, 1519.

Luther had, as we have seen justification by faith as revealed now begins to advance to another the Church and the papacy. In the pope, he declared, that he is the pope as the voice of God. In attacking him, that he was led doctrine. His first appeal (October 28, 1518, he appealed from the badly informed to a pope to be better six months before, the university represented the liberal or Gallican Council of Constance, appeared at the Council. At the beginning of to a council.

## HARMONY OF TI

that more than 2,000 citizens  
lation, sympathized with him.  
Moses who would lead the pe

Another significant event  
Soon after he came to Zurich  
dulgence. But so strongly c  
left not only Zurich but also  
broke out in the autumn he  
was reported dead. But he  
illness deepened his piety and  
before him as Reformer. He  
Zwingli's statements in his lett  
reveal his progress in reform  
wrote to Beatus Rhenanus: "  
immensely so full is it of slur  
loving cardinals." On March  
pained me that the man-please  
is entertaining designs against  
will not save Judah when he tr  
but only when trusting in hi  
Beatus he speaks of "the 'old  
And on June 7 he speaks again  
on December 31 he writes sligh

Zwingli had by this time  
on three points. Like Luther  
Scripture. He also had come  
of Christ just as Luther had  
had not openly attacked the pope  
by the pope as had been Luther  
Luther begun to doubt the pope  
had come out against saint-  
several years longer.

The year 1520 was a great  
eran Reformation; for in it  
Reformation treatises,—those  
"The Luther of 1520," says  
"Hymns of the Reform

\* See my

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different person from the Luther of (1517). His aims were grander, his clearer and his self-confidence vastly over issuing his two great appeals he, of a work by an Italian, Valla, which t the "Donation of Constantine," on founded, was a fiction and a fraud. al of the power of the papacy. In er advanced to several new positions indulgences and then the papacy. Now d and the sacraments and other errors

is "Appeal to the German Nobility," . In it he says that the Romanists es with three walls. The first was itual to be above the temporal; and ers have no control over the clergy. pope alone could expound Scriptures, t be used against them. The third d call a council. Luther called for a e which threw down the walls of ese walls. Over against the first, cal doctrine of the priesthood of all eial privileges of the Catholic priest- cond, he claimed that the Bible gave nt of private judgment. After his o walls, the third was easily over- he early councils of the church were r emperors; and he held that coun- by the pope. In this work he also e clergy and demanded the diminu- ead. He appealed to the German h hierarchy would not attempt to is, they should do so, which right doctrine of the priesthood of all ical and social manifesto (having to the German nobles to go for- " shortly followed by another, "The lished in October. In this he at-

## HARMONY OF TH

tacked the sacramental system mentioned several captivities. of the cup from the laity at t was transubstantiation; the thir fice. He reduced the number among the Catholics to three, b pennance, though he grants that ment. He held that the sacran giveness and that they were eff "Address to the German Not external abuses in the state; in he treated of the internal errors

This epochal year was bro by a most heroic act,—his burni cember 11. He defended this taught the pope's absolute author and the Christian conscience. breach with the papacy, for he 1 also the canon law, in which wer papal system was supposed to re:

But while Luther went so fa he was still Catholic in many o saying the canonical prayers, w priest for each day. For he says, for a week and so had to make up all together for a whole day, so th "drink." It seems strange that aft fication by faith, he should still con prayers, as they were based on jus he still relying on good works to s goes to the trouble to make up for t

Turning from the Lutheran to th we find that the year 1520 was a comp ared with Luther's. And yet one Reformation was steadily progress Early in the year, Zwingli made an a tem of the Catholic Church. This w revenues of the cathedral. He says t dral declared that the tithes were of d gli controverted publicly. The provos

## THE REFORMATION

to the laity to use against the clergy. way that Zwingli's preaching was taken as the action of the city council, that he preached, "all priests and curates where preach the Holy Gospels and Apostles, and they should only teach and establish by the Word of God. commandments of men, they should as the first action of a secular author- or Zurich, favorable to the Reforma- two points, it will be noticed as we of Luther's Reformation, in cultus and ble to the Reformation.

cant event of the year at Zurich was his papal pension. At the beginning called attention to the different defini- ed a Reformer. We later saw how i became Reformers; according to the when they began giving expression to wingli in 1517 and Luther in 1518; by faith and Zwingli, to the completed atorship of Christ. We saw how ac- of a Reformer Zwingli was first.

he second definition there given of a he was one who renounced publicly wingli did so in 1520 as he renounced ived from the pope. This was a pen- given him in 1512-1513 of 50 gulden used to buy books and it was greatly

In 1517 he declined it, but they kept le says:

d to receive the pension, which they ey wanted to make it 100 gulden, but . But they would not stop it until in n writing. (I confess here my sin world that before 1516 I hung mightily dered it becoming for me to receive easury.) But when the Roman repre- ot to preach against the pope, I told ear words that they had better not

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into great confusion at Wittenberg by the Lutheran Church his-  
 torian who is their idol. His case  
 we all have) and his eccentrici-  
 ties Reformed.

Carlstadt, or Carlstadt, as he has  
 been called at the Wittenberg uni-  
 versity was a man of considerable abil-  
 ity once called Luther "the  
 lesser light" but later he had followed him  
 became the first defender of  
 the Reformation on to the Leipsic Disputation

controversy with Luther, in which  
 he formed position on the inspira-  
 tion of Luther in his "Resolutions"  
 where estimate of the Epistle of  
 James that James favored works  
 took exception to this remark of  
 Luther in doing so, held to  
 his theory of the canonicity of  
 the canonicity of the different  
 books were in agreement with what  
 of Christianity. Carlstadt de-  
 cided canonicity of a book depended  
 on and not on the whim of the  
 church's, if carried out to its ex-  
 treme for the baldest rationalism and  
 the subjective the guide. Carl-  
 stadt's later Reformed view, espe-  
 cially the subjective authority of  
 the objective. Calvin held to a  
 "gift of the Holy Spirit." But this  
 he held, not that we authenticated  
 ourselves to us,—were



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the next year as we shall see. At the end of the year the ministers there took an action that was the declaration of independence against the bishop. The ministers of the canton declared that they would pay their dues to the bishop. And the council decided it so long as the bishop did not tax the people. So the year closed with a great controversy threatened one at Zurich.

1522.

opened at Wittenberg with storm. They began creating friction. On St. Stephen's day, a marriage ceremony for one of the ministers, himself, Melancthon being present. On the adoption by the city of Wittenberg

This was the first secular action taken ten years later than at Zurich, as we have seen. Order cast pictures out of the Churches

Carlstadt had denounced pictures, declared them forbidden by the second commandment. The place was in the fire and not in the Church. He ordered to have the images removed from the Church, tore them out, hewed them to pieces. On February 1 there was another riot forbidden to preach. Luther had demanded that nuns and monks leave their convents. He supported the change of the mass to

Supper. He even approved of Carlstadt. By the end of February he wrote a letter to the people of Wittenberg in which he found fault with the old— that they forced the new faith on the old. At the same time he commented on his remarkable collection of relics. When he would be back at Wittenberg. This greatly alarmed the Elector, for he left his secret asylum at the Wartburg to seize him or would punish him (the latter he was a heretic. But Luther came nevertheless to Wittenberg and preached March 9-16,

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age in the words of institution of the Lord's  
contrary to the Reformed custom.  
all this for two reasons.  
me that cultus was secondary to doctrine  
placed less stress on it. He said that such  
marriage of priests, cloister life, private con-  
fessions in Churches might be tolerated. Only  
the Word of God as private masses  
was opposed to be abolished.  
faith and its rites were not to be forced on  
any man voluntarily. All must be  
freely. Paul, he said, preached at Athens  
and we would show all honor to Luther for his  
own in many ways, we are the more surprised  
at such weakness here. The Reformed might  
in changing Catholic rites before the times were  
change. But we do not know of a single Re-  
former who did what Luther did here, — restore a Romish  
Mass had been given up, especially the Lord's Supper.  
Luther would never have done this. They would  
do it because they believed that cultus or the mode  
was as important as doctrine; while to Luther  
it was adiaaphora or indifferent. The Reformed  
did it because such things were matters of  
conscience. They were not so to the Lutherans. The  
Reformed stuck closer to the Bible than Luther,  
and gave in the worship only what was in the Bible.  
After Luther's return, quietly submitted to  
him. But the next year he went to Orlamunde  
and became pastor there. There he intro-  
duced changes in the worship just as he had done  
in so doing made the service Reformed  
and German. All pictures, crucifixes, images and  
with vestments and robes were cast out, as  
of the Latin language. But Carlstadt was  
led to leave Saxony and became a wanderer  
after he had given up his association with  
made a Reformed professor of theology in

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had finished his address, **he**, with the rest of his  
to leave before **Zwingli** began speaking. But  
ve of fair-play led the **council** to compel them  
hear **Zwingli**. The **council** then reaffirmed its  
tion in favor of fasting. But it put on record  
nfavorable to the **Catholics**,—that the divine law  
than the pope's. The **bishop** was dissatisfied with  
sent letters to **Zurich** urging that heresy might be

to the summer of 1522 **Zwingli** had been mainly at-  
omish doctrines, now he began attacking the Church  
ns. He attacked the many saints' days and Catholic

On June 19 he attacked **Corpus Christi**. He also  
the monks and the mass and declared that the pope  
y a temporal prince and not of divine appointment.  
en another step was taken favorable to Protestantism.  
me it was the celibacy of the clergy that was attacked.  
y two petitions were sent, one to the bishop of Con-  
the other to the Swiss diet, asking that the clergy be  
tted to marry. The one to the bishop was signed by  
**gli** and ten other priests.

While these petitions against celibacy were being sent,  
her event occurred at **Zurich** that created an excitement.  
prominent friar of the **Franciscan Order** arrived there,  
nbert of **Avignon**. He had been influenced somewhat by  
ther's writings, but was not yet in the clear. He preached  
r sermons in the **Fraumünster Church**, **Zurich**, in which  
defended the worship of **Mary** and the saints. **Zwingli**,  
o was present, arose and called out: "Brother, you are in  
or." This led to an arrangement for a disputation between  
nbert and **Zwingli**. It lasted four hours. **Zwingli** so  
ssed him out of the **Bible** that at last **Lambert** declared  
self discomfited and said he would ever after pray to **God**  
e and lay aside all mediators and rosaries. We thus see  
**Zwingli** had broken on saint-worship with the **Catholics**  
before **Luther**.

In **August** **Zwingli** published his reply to the charges made  
s bishop against him in the spring. He named it "**Arche-**  
" which means "the first and the last," hoping that as this  
his first attack on the bishop, it might be his last. It

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taught the independence of the Christian from  
ity. It revealed how thoroughly Protestant  
come. It upheld the supremacy of the Bible  
of sins through the atonement of Christ.  
against the confessional, pictures in the Church  
music, vocal and instrumental, in the Confession  
criticized Luther for approving of the conf  
and worship of the saints. On these points  
ahead of Luther.

In September, Zwingli preached at the  
of the Angelic Dedication at Einsiedeln.  
twofold one, the supremacy of the Bible and  
as the Mediator instead of Mary. Thus the  
Zurich was moving fast and gathering force.  
A crisis came in November. Zwingli decided  
declared he could no longer perform the duties  
He had become so opposed to the mass and other  
that they had become distasteful to him. But the  
the difficult situation. It allowed him to resign  
one else, thus relieving him from his distasteful  
as to keep him, it created for him a new office,  
This act was very significant. It was in reality  
of independence from Rome, for it was the  
minister by a secular power, without asking  
the bishop to sanction it. Just at the close  
up also a controversy about pictures and  
we will refer in connection with 1523.

1523.

At Wittenberg very little of importance  
seemed to be a calm after the storm of  
under Carlstadt. And there was also  
Peasants' War which broke out the next  
gether with Melancthon and others, was  
lation of the Old Testament. This was  
1534, being preceded by the Reformed  
Zurich in 1530. In this year he came  
worship by approving of the position of the  
If we turn to Zurich we find that it  
than quiet. This was the great year of

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On May 29 a great Conference was held in the city. Luther had done in 1517 at Wittenberg, now these. In them he attacked the whole range of ideas, purgatory, the papacy, mass, intercession of clergy, etc. Faber, the vicar general of the present. He declared that such matters should require such a conference called by the secular power, council. Zwingli answered that the Bible was sufficient. Faber was pressed by Zwingli to produce Scripture for his doctrine, but he failed to do so. The council took action that Zwingli should continue the Gospel as long and as often as he wanted, and should preach nothing but what he derived out of the Bible. It also forbade that they attack other heretics. This was then a great victory for the Reformed, for it closed the mouths of their enemies by calling them heretics and also opened their eyes to the Gospel everywhere.

Faber by this time had become alarmed at the progress of the Protestant movement in Switzerland. He sent his son-in-law a friendly letter to Zwingli (January 23) asking him to return to the Catholic Church. Myconius says that Zwingli, the papal chaplain at Einsiedeln and a friend of Zwingli's, tried to win the latter back to the Catholic Church. Myconius states that he asked Zwingli what the pope offered to Zwingli. Zwingli replied: "Every-thing for the papal chair." That meant that Rome would be willing to have given Zwingli anything, even made a cardinal in order to silence him. But he refused all offers.

On August 10 occurred the first baptism in German in the cathedral. On September 2 Zwingli made changes in the mass. He published his Mass.\* In it he enunciated his doctrine of the Eucharist that it is a memorial feast where the thought of Christ's death stirs us to greater service. He also proposed to substitute for the Latin prayers of the service.

Of the mass was that part of the mass in which the Eucharist occurs.

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Then another controversy. Leo Juda, the new pastor of, preached on September 1 at Zwingli had already been preached at the cathedral, saying, that the images were idols and should be removed. These teachings. It happened a pamphlet, "The Judgment of the great crucifix at Stadelhofen, For this Hottinger and his 1 Zwingli sympathized with them zealous. As a result of this council that another Conference should be held that the subject of the dispute was mass. On the first day the speaker had no defenders. The council decided to move it wherever it could be without wounding tender consciences.

Finally came the last act of the council. Zwingli had on October 1 the charge that he retained the Catholic mass. This he denied. Engelhard, the three pastors at the council stating that they were ready to accept the Protestant faith according to the Bible readings instead of the mass. He postponed this revision of the mass to complete his Reformation at the end of 1523, though his wishes were not carried out a year later. And yet this was not the end. The Catholic rites at Wittenberg were stored the Catholic rites at Wittenberg. The Reformed were leading the Lutherans in the civil action favoring Protestantism. Reformation permanent.

1524

During the year 1524, very little was done. For they were kept busy

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the next year. This insurrection rather than the Carlstadt movement conservative. Against the Peasants he said the Heavenly Prophets." How was taken. The German was introduced at Wittenberg and the mass was given there though it remained in the city

very little was being done at Wittenberg with the Reformation. On the other party, led by Canon Hoffman, made no change on the Reformation. Hoffman appeared before the council and was asked if he and his friends would preach according to the council and so was compelled to leave the power of the Catholic party. Now the Protestant. The saints' days were abolished by the council permanently abolished the feast of Einsiedeln. The relics were taken out of the ringing of Church-bells except for the wedding. Payment for the confessional was abolished, the blessing of the communion was and extreme unction were all set aside. All pictures, images, statues and altars were taken out of the Churches by the council. The statue of Charlemagne in the tower of the cathedral was permitted to remain, for they very highly valued it and had given the ground for the cathedral. To overcome the difficulty by saying that Charlemagne's death which was probably true. This example of the city was followed by the churches. On December 3 the monasteries and convents were closed at Zurich. So that by the close of the year 1524 of the old worship but the mass was abolished the year before if Zwingli followed their own way.

The public announcement of the year was made by Zwingli's marriage on April 2. but he had kept the matter secret for so long that it might cripple his influence. Only a

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few friends as Myconius knew especially Lutherans, to say that "marriage" with her in 1522. No name to call it, but it raises more. Such a concubinage as had been allowed can not be harmonized with sever. conius speaks of Zwingli's wife as 1522. Again how could Myconius of his letters his "Spouse in Christ" concubine. Again, 1522 was the year were cleaned out of Zurich at Zurich could that have been done if he were binage. In a word, if Zwingli were he would have been utterly unable his reforms, especially as he had so right around him to watch every lapse marriages might have been possible in Catholicism, but not with the awakened Protestant Reformation. "If he erred," say of Zwingli," "the error was one of judgment, a fringement of moral law. With our intricate problems and conditions involved, very charitable in forming an opinion, conscientious motives with an eye to the dominion of God." Christoffel, in his "Life of Zwingli" mentions the fact that notwithstanding his vilifying the most absurd stories to vilify Luther was not utilized by them as a subject for says Christoffel, "I not only find no censur the same wise and temperate regard for the ment of his congregation."

1525.

During this year, the Reformation almost at a standstill because of the Peasants' War. In Zurich the year was marked by the completion of the Reformation. Zwingli and his party appeared before the Council on April 11 (Tuesday of Passion week) for the abolition of the mass and the restoration of the New Testament. The abolition was to take place on Thursday of Passion week.



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ice. Instead of the altar was a plain  
d paten or chalice were wooden plates  
lements, the wine as well as the bread,  
e. They received them seated instead  
tholic Church. There was no singing,  
he responsive reading of the Creed and  
ter, the men and the women. All the  
instead of Latin. This completed the  
ntism. It was introduced, not in one  
g, but in all the city churches and in  
canton. This was not done in Witten-

the reformation, Zwingli was before  
n 1517 and 1520. For Luther did not  
s until the next year, 1526. And when  
changes in the worship, they are much  
er's. For the Lutheran service at that  
s of Romanism. It then retained the  
Benedictus, adoration of the host and  
lles, altars and fast days. Zwingli's was  
ant..

have passed along, that on some points  
was earlier, on some, the other. The  
at first created greater sensation as it  
untry as Germany. Had it been per-  
way it would have antedated the Re-  
on, caused by the Carlstadt episode and  
cked the progress of Lutheranism for a  
still until 1526-7. Meanwhile the Re-  
gone right on and were earlier in their  
specially in worship and government.  
ions we have given of a Reformer,  
r. We therefore answer the question,  
ner, Luther or Zwingli, by having thus  
ese definitions of a Reformer, Zwingli  
ng a Reformer meant conversion and  
sm Zwingli was earlier than Luther in  
g with the pope, Zwingli was earlier in  
ng the services and introducing Prot-  
d country, Zwingli was earlier in 1525.

## CHAPTER

## THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

The theology of Zwingli has been misunderstood by a number of writers as Baur, Zeller and others have done, and there is one fundamental fault in all these treatments of himself; and that has been that Baur and Zeller were Hegelians of the worst type, with a conception of what was orthodox which was entirely spurned. Some of Zwingli's biographers have made the same mistake. For example, Zeller. Zwingli approached the Protestant point of view from the point of what is now called the Hegelian point of view, that is kept in mind (and neither Zeller nor Baur had any true appreciation of it) and that is not to be understood as we shall see. The mistake with these writers is that, in giving their account of Zwingli, they dwell upon them as given in his earlier. The gradual growth of his historical development, has not been given. It will find by examining Zwingli's works that we will give a quite different perspective to the man and his estimate of him.

The first statement that we have heard from the first pastor of the Romanism is during his first pastorate declared that he did not find the treasure of our poor souls. "Christ is the life of the creature?"\* The reason why he has already adverted to in the sermon is that we saw there the suggestion as we saw there of the Christian Soldier."† This

\* Egli "Schweizerische Rundschau" 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, 1899, 1900, 1901, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, 1907, 1908, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1924, 1925, 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929, 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1942, 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 256

† See pages 47-48. from that book,

‡ For extracts from

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ocation of the saints. But in  
ick at one of the fundamental  
r the whole Catholic system is  
ors or intercessors between God  
aints at the top and the bishops  
This system was an inheritance  
aeons in the fourth century.

to deny the invocation of the  
hed on the significant text, "The  
forgive sins." Bullinger in his  
en, "that Zwingli preached the  
Einsiedeln and especially taught  
or and that men should not pray  
gin and Mother of God." And  
s experiences at Einsiedeln made  
ne saints and the idleness of the  
to this doctrine appears again and  
wrote to Rhenanus that he would  
of Luther's works on the "Lord's  
als somewhat with the "adoration  
speaks of preparing for the press  
ship and Haller, the Reformer of  
was daily expecting to read Zwin-  
of the saints. One of Canon Hoff-  
im was that he preached against  
again appears prominently in his  
vignon which he thus describes in  
ly 30, 1522:

tain Franciscan from France, whose  
s here not many days since and had  
the Scriptural basis of the saints and

He was not able to convince me by  
age of Scripture that the saints do  
ith a great deal of assurance boasted

1522, he published a sermon on the  
Mary" in which he held to her virginity  
d faith, but he denied her intercession.  
n he debated with the Commission of  
in 1522, this was one of the doctrines

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that he attacked. It comes out very Conference at Zurich in January 20, theses, the 20th says "God desires to name, whence it follows that outside Mediator except himself." And in up on these theses there occurred an defense on the Catholic side was very general, led it. Zwingli said:

"Now since my Lord vicar ann of how he convinced the clergyman means of the divine Scriptures of the dear saints and the mother of are our mediators with God, I beg also the words of Scripture where it pray to the saints as mediators; so now, I may be better instructed; sin Bibles in the Hebrew, Greek and will have examined, so that we meaning of Scripture that the saint mediators."

The vicar made a long-winded Scripture passage as proof. Zwin he give the passages on which he of Fislisbach to the Catholic doctr passage:

"For if such a custom began it did not exist before; and if Christians and were saved, though intercession of the saints and perh it follows that they did not sin, and did not consider the interces really know from the Scriptures Mediator between us and God."

He then again after some

"I desire that you do not make digression which do not even bear upon my question of before, tell at once where is written the holy invocation and intercession you pretended you could show from But the vicar again turned it riage of priests, then a burning

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Scripture where it is written concerning the intercession of saints. Then, the text in Luke, 2nd chapter, where "Blessed is the body that has borne the cross which thou hast sucked." But when asked, "We are not asking concerning the intercession of Mary, but concerning her invocation" the vicar took offense at the interference and refused to sit out by sitting down and refused

prominence of this doctrine at that

of his Theses published July 14, 1523, sent. After this First Conference in 1524 again as iconoclasts began destroying churches. This led, as we have seen, to the disputation at Zurich in October, 1523. At this time of saint-worship took up the whole disputation. A man tried to say something in defense but failed as he could give no Scripture proof. When taken up, "The images are for destruction. Therefore they should not be worshipped. Christians and they ought to be done away with." Lauderbach proved this proposition ably from the writings of Kussnacht tried to weakly deny that images were staffs and supports to the doctrine and said:

Useless ministers and bishops zealously worship God instead of busying themselves with the Word. Nummery, it had not come to this, that the people, unacquainted with the Word, must be beguiled by pictures on the wall or wooden

|| this the prominence given by Zwingli

is doctrine, it ought to be noted that it was the doctrine that Zwingli began his Protestantism in place as Einsiedeln which was erected to

It is also remarkable that as Zwingli met with strong opposition to saint-worship he continued on to end his life with it. For when

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lying under the pear tree and dying, he was advised by the Catholics around him, that if he could not stand, he should pray in his heart to the Mother and the saints. But Zwingli shook his head.

Now while this doctrine has been in Zwingli's life, it is noticeable that the doctrine has been becoming prominent in the relationship of Christ between God and man. In the tract we have given says he preaches that Christ is the only Mediator. It is really the doctrine of the invocation of the name of Christ, not to be prayed to since Christ is the Father and taught all men to pray to the Father and taught all men to pray to Christ, as the only Savior." Zwingli, after describing his preaching at Zurich, after describing his preaching at Zurich, after describing his preaching at Zurich, then on Acts, Timothy and Titus, he went to Hebrews:

"In order to bring to the great benefit of the coming of Jesus Christ. Here they were to learn that Jesus Christ and well have they learned it. Christ as an offering, once made, justified them."

He again speaks of this doctrine in 4, 1520: "Christ died once for all more." (Romans 6:9.)

In the 67 theses of the Zurich theses the doctrine is clearly stated in theses

50. "God alone remits sins and our Lord."

51. "Whoever only assigns to the honor of God and gives it to real idolatry."

2. "The sum and substance of Jesus Christ, the true Son of God, will of his heavenly Father and released us from death and reconciliation."

3. "Hence Christ is the only one who ever were, are and will be."

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anon of the Mass, he again speaks offered once for all for us as the e placed this against the idea of ce. In 1524, in a defence against received his knowledge of the Bible Winterthur and that he denied the atoning death in his sermons, he inds the sure certainty of his salva- ng Son of God."

m of theology his "True and False ed considerable space\* to this doc- gain appears. For in the Confession or of Germany at Augsburg (1530)

no other victim for expiating crimes was Paul crucified for us, for there he sun in which we must be saved his is the one sole Mediator between s."

gical work published posthumously, tian Faith," he says: "For the con- atonement of our sins gained with is Christ who has suffered for us."

as he grew older, to broaden his they all gathered around this early mediatorship of Christ,—the ransom for all (Heb. 10:10).

t this fundamental doctrine? It came already seen from his great teacher, h, of Basle, who implanted in his iritual doctrine that "Christ was the :† "the death of Christ was the sole Therefore faith is the key which asury of such remission." "Absolu- a Romish cheat, the death of Christ is."

of the atonement became the sheet

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anchor for Zwingli. It laid hold ever afterward. It is specially interesting before he broadened out into as in his "True and False Religions" doctrines tends comparatively to background. It was the belief in the way to undermine his faith at saints. "If Christ was the only was the need of the saints?" To he approached it Scripturally and reason. He could not find saintly settled the matter for him. As he more and more clear to him that Christ as he later says (indeed the phrase "Christ is the one only Mediator" this from the Epistle to the Hebrews sticks in his mind—Christ died on the Gospel of justification from Galatians got his Gospel of atonement from

It was the same Gospel only Zwingli went down deeper than Luther of justification by faith, namely, that justification is based on the atonement either by works, or by faith as Luther God does in Christ at his atonement, views were therefore more definite and The text that seems to have most importance 10:14. He referred to this in the First 1523, where he repeatedly quotes Hebrews vicar, he says:

"I say that you should prove from mass is a sacrifice, for as St. Paul Christ not more than once was sacrificed but 'by his own blood he entered &c.,' nor yet that he should offer priests in the Old Testament have people, for then Christ must have St. Paul writes, (Heb. 10: 12, 13) offered one sacrifice forever sat down God.' Likewise, 'for by one offering ever them that are sanctified.' Likewise



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e sacrifices in the Old Testament fulfilment, by so much more powerful is this was sufficient once for the sins of all (7.)

ce may be traced his early opposition, which against fasting. He had been preachers because not in the Bible. But the it was, that fasts were supposed to be ed us. And Zwingli was jealous for his and saves alone" was the keynote of his

is on Christ as the great Mediator placed position while he was at Einsiedeln. For as the Black Virgin,—there it was held by the Virgin, in whose honor the abbey had consecrated it miraculously. But Zwingli preached that sins were forgiven and not by the Virgin Mary. No wonder a sensation so that tradition has it that told those whom they met coming to the 1. And they turned away home and did Now it must have required a tremendous ve preached, right at the shrine of Mary ospel of the forgiving Christ. It was like right at Ephesus and Daniel worshipping the king's idolatrous edict. But Zwingli a hero. He knew he was right. For he ing the Bible. His clear humanistic mind clearly and strongly on the death of Christ. s on the death of Christ explains his her doctrine, which Zwingli made so the Memorial View of the Lord's Supper. eological Protestantism by so emphasizing Christ, he naturally fell into the view rd's Supper a memorial of Christ's death. pper is complex in its significance. Now ment made prominent and now another rmers and different Churches. Luther, 4, emphasized the relation of the community in the sacrament. Calvin, on the other

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hand, emphasized the relation of t  
Christ,—the idea of communion  
Christ in heaven through the  
phasized the relation of the cor  
Christ,—the Lord's Supper was  
And who will deny the truth  
"This do in remembrance of me."  
he says: "Christ having sacrific  
eternity a certain and valid sacri  
faithful. It, therefore, follows  
sacrifice."

Zwingli later broadened the  
system and the doctrine of the at  
proportionably so prominent a pla  
clearly stated or understood. O  
all the other doctrines—Christ d  
larger work, published 1525, his "  
other doctrines come in to comple  
the change that took place is best  
to the Emperor of Germany (1530  
of Christ as the sole Mediator b  
adds "Moreover God's election i  
firm: for whom he has elected t  
the world, he has so elected as th  
Him unto Himself." Thus the ato  
tion, which doctrine was further er  
"Providence." But in his last wo  
Faith," he returned to the atonemer  
ship of Christ appears again.

We have thus dwelt on the e  
ment of Zwingli, which made Chr  
Our reason for doing so is that  
Zwingli, like the writers on his t  
fully Evangelical. Stahelin is und  
is the latest biographer of Zwingl  
followed in all respects. But Stat  
sidered orthodox by us in America.  
tion of a Mediate in theology. H  
complete vicarious atonement of C  
the Bible gives it, namely that in

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The result is that he does not do these points. The earlier biographers are better here. What is said of the later Church historians who's life. The recent attempt of the Germany, among them Harnack, has entirely dependent on Luther. And philosophies have simply echoed the Germans fail to understand Zwingli, be-re not Evangelical and cannot study point. For they deny the absolute as a result, his substitutionary atone-not a God, he cannot make so great required. Therefore these writers, Zwingli's theological views, pass by the ransom of Christ. It does not s no place in their theology and so is. We, therefore, call attention to gelical biographies of Zwingli made strine of the atonement.

Reformation lesson we need to learn at is that had Luther and Zwingli not onement, there would probably have

It was Christ's death, and justification gave us the Reformation. The flabby s of the New Theology of today l such a sensation or lead to such behooves us on this anniversary of et back to the great doctrines of the there has always been tremendous ey have the dynamic to shake the formed need to get back to the doc-cy of Scripture which he held to-ve need to get back to his great doc-e ransom,—Christ's Mediatorship is complete. The theological cry was o Christ, we need to go farther and nd Him Crucified," which was the ing. Nothing but the love of Christ, 1, will ever conquer the world. The

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more that Christ's atonement is of significance, the less there is of love. It is ethical and fails to satisfy man's emotional and the more Christ is reduced to mere law by taking the vicariousness making vicariousness the law of death was purely natural and not is evacuated of love. Salvation in atonement is the great exception and can only be revealed by grace,—by Christ's givenness for the sake of the death in his place, dying in our stead. That of Christ's is the magnet that will draw as nothing else can do.

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## CHAPTER I

### THE UNFINISHED LUTHERAN SIGNIFICANCE TO THE

The Reformation of the sixteenth century concerns two Churches, the Reformed as between them, what is their lot? The contrast between them is brought out in the unfinished Lutheran Reformation and the Reformed.

In speaking on this subject it is not from the character or credit that belongs to the Church. Luther will ever stand out as a hero of the Reformation. He had many things, that caused them to make the Lutheran Church, that he found and praised for the tenacity with which he defended his doctrine of justification by faith.

But the Lutheran Church was not the Reformation and we fear that some will on this 400th Anniversary of the Reformation as if Luther and the whole of it and make the anniversary. We believe that fair-minded Lutherans though we fear that the Reformed side will be scantily passed by as of little account. Some of them have never given credit to the Reformation as we have done to Luther. One-sided emphasis of theirs and to state the Reformation in its full significance is the subject.

The unfinished Reformation of the sixteenth century should not be held as too severe a test for them. For the Reformation, whether Reformed, is not entirely finished, even in the development of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

## UNFINISHED LUTHERAN

there was a great deal of Puritanism in the Church at the Reformation. All the extravagances of Puritanism, yet there is not much worship. If you and I had been worshipping been praying to it for many years that it was a fraud and cheat, prayers and could not forgive sin apt to lead us unto extravagance would have done the same thing to the extreme iconoclasts. Even then went beyond the Lutheran worship. And they did it because of the difference between

To prove the differences between some of the Reformation. We time of the Church at present a Lutheran since then have in of the more progressive reform were certain forms that the Lutheran were eschewed by the Reformed. tained exorcism, christening or the cross, and lay-baptism. At the Lutheran the use of the wafer, while the Reformed and the latter insisted that the Lutheran of Christ's broken body. The Lutheran adoration of the host. In the Reformation the Lutherans retained crosses and times lights and splendidly wrought As late as 1536 the delegates and by the presence of pictures and of the elements in the Lutheran The Lutherans retained many sacraments rejected by the Reformed as not benediction, the minister made the of these the Lutheran Church has position of the Lutheran Church following. Luther in 1528 wrote "I condemn no ceremonies but pel. All others. I retain intact in

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istered with the same rites as used is the vernacular. I even except those destroyed by the also celebrate mass in the custom only adding certain German songs in the words of consecration. At the Latin mass done away nor use of German, had I not been hate nobody worse than him who ceremonies and turns liberty into

Berlin clergyman who was troubled ceremonies retained in the worship of arch of Brandenburg, he said:

Take your processions with a silver or and mantle of velvet, satin or linen. Elector does not find one hood or cas- as Aaron, the high priest, wore ents from which the priestly robes name. And if his Electoral grace procession enough with its ringing as Joshua marched around Jericho even srael, shouting and blowing trumpets. Marge grave would enjoy it, let his Elec- dance in front of the procession with ymbals and bells as David did before rough into the city of Jerusalem."

he wrote to Chancellor Brueck

God be praised, are so conducted as re- ings, that a layman from Italy or Spain German, would be compelled to say, on noir, organs, bells and the like, that ours arch, not at all or very little different from own country."

ion wrote in the Augsburg Confession:\*

es are falsely accused of abolishing the mass, etained on our part and celebrated with great- d almost all the ceremonies that are in use (in arch) are preserved, saving that with the things we mingle certain things sung in German in the service."

## UNFINISHED LUTHERAN F

And in a letter July 30, 1530, to the  
"A slight difference of rites seems to  
opposition to the concord (with the Ca

The Reformed never talked that w  
tion of these indifferent things was a n  
cause Scriptural. And they cast them  
proves that the Reformed went much  
cultus than the Lutherans. They con  
erans left unfinished. Protestant wor  
*today if the Reformed had not come in*

We will now leave this point and  
ment. Here too the Reformed went  
Lutherans. Luther attempted in a m  
Churches, when they came out of Cat  
But he did not get very far before  
compare his effort at organization wi  
of the Reformed, we see how Zwingli  
Lasco completed, the Reformed form  
Government too with the Lutherans di  
importance as doctrine, for there see  
principle about it as the Lutherans in  
pal, and in Germany consistorial. T  
parity of the ministry as necessary a  
formed did. Luther allowed the sta  
of government. It might have any f  
Catholic. But not so with the Refo  
fixed principle,—a principle that is f  
ment,—the government must be pres  
Koestlin, Luther's biographer, grants  
organizer, for he says: "Luther's missi  
sphere of concrete practical organizati

We see then the difference between  
Reformed was, that the Lutherans left  
own church. Each prince in Germany  
composed of councillors, some ministers  
appears the Erastianism of the Lutheran  
instead of being autonomous as a true  
is dependent on the state. Even in the  
tarianism, that the congregation and not  
to call its own minister, yet that call m



This was different from the Reformation, did not go as far as Calvin; but state certain rights in the Church. But Calvin reach and the state had different functions. Al-  
 e exist in the full separation of Church and state  
 e that he got that far. Now in Churches that  
 ore he ultimately drove them asunder. But  
 are two forms, a higher and a lower; in the  
 s above the state in authority; in the other,  
 the Church. In the latter, when the Refor-  
 mation, the state simply took the place of the  
 l over the Church as before. This was true  
 reformed Churches in Switzerland, especially  
 in some parts of Germany the consistorial  
 nt has been introduced into the Reformed  
 has been due to the Lutheran influences  
 ding districts. This consistorial form of  
 metimes quite low, as it required only the  
 ficial of the prince at the synod. But it gen-  
 amely that no action of the synod was final  
 al of the consistory. And as the Lutheran  
 had no synod, the consistory had all the  
 But pure Reformed Church government  
 ty to the synod or the Church, and not to  
 ore in Church government, the Reformed  
 atheran and the Lutheran was incomplete.  
 t beyond, because they aimed to be Scrip-  
 tural.  
 another difference between the Lutherans  
 Church government. The distinction we  
 s an external one—that is, external to the  
 t with the church's relation to the state.  
 a difference between them internally,—  
 The Reformed held to representative  
 within the Church. This peculiarity grew  
 have just mentioned. Just because the  
 erned by the state, but governed herself,  
 a self-government of her own. This she  
 ive method. The congregation had repre-

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representatives in the upper Church courts synod and general synod. To each the elders. Each congregation was represented in its own consistory it was represented in This representative form of government peculiarity of the Reformed Church. It form of government that enabled the found republics.

We thus see the difference between government. We in America are not as they are in Germany where Church Here, where no princes rule, there are consistory to govern them, there are formed, self-governing. So they have either the congregational form of govern Synod, or a sort of presbyterial, as in Others have superintendents and some show how this lack of complete organization Church of Germany has hindered it, we given us by one of the leading Reformed About the year 1817 and later the Churches in different parts of Germany the Evangelical Church. In this union to retain its creeds and customs, yet was a compromise. At the top was taken from the Lutheran Church and at the byterial form of government into the many. This presbyterial form of government congregations to elect elders. And condition was revealed. In many of they had great difficulty to find men elders Why? Because the Lutheran Church centuries since the Reformation, been tried had almost to be forced into the elders might be filled. Now this would never Reformed Church. For the Reformed

\* But the General Council has not power that the Reformed Churches do in the

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the Reformation, had been training up  
ations. And what magnificent laymen as  
he has had; as in the Reformation, Vadian  
Gall, Admiral Coligny of France, Elector  
Palatinate in Germany and William of  
All these things show that her Church  
complete than the Lutheran.

ie Palatinate in Germany that her Church  
All these things show that the Lutheran  
therefore more complete than the Lutheran  
it beyond this unfinished organization of the  
and fully organized themselves. They did  
believed they found the presbyterial form of  
nt in the New Testament where it speaks of  
presbytery and where bishops and presbyters  
in the same word. *It would have been a great  
ism if the Reformed Church organization had  
istence. For then Catholicism would have the  
aquered Protestantism.*  
that the Lutheran Church has been an  
points, cultus and government.  
We may

For then Catholicism has been an  
 conquered Protestantism.  
 that the Lutheran Church has been an  
 points, cultus and government,  
 We may

acquiesced Protestantism. It is shown that the Lutheran Church has been wrong on two points, cultus and government, the last point, and that is doctrine. We may say that the Lutheran Church did not come to us in America.

is shown that the information on two points, cultus and the last point, and that is doctrine. We may when we say that the Lutheran Church did not doctrine. This is not so familiar to us in America. Germany, where the two Churches exist side by side more familiar with the doctrinal differences of the Reformed. Here the main difference is the German language.

Germany, where the two Churches exist side by side, be more familiar with the doctrinal differences between Lutherans and Reformed. Here the main difference is the Lord's Supper, although in the German language there are differences in the use of the Lord's Prayer following the Latin of the Catholics and the English of the Lutherans. The Catholics say "Our father"; and the Lutherans say "Vater unser".

be more. **Lutherans and Reformed.** Here are two differences in the use of the Lord's Prayer. The Lutherans, although in the German language, closely following the Latin of the Catholic "Father our" instead of "our father"; and the Reformed "evil" is used by the Lutherans, while the Catholics say "from the evil one."

two differences in the use of the Lord's Supper, although the Lutherans closely following the Latin of the Catholic "Father our" instead of "our father"; and the use of the phrase "deliver us from the evil one." But the Lutherans use the phrase "Christian Church." But it

[illegible]

use the phrase "Catholic Church." But the Reformed use "Catholic Church." They are familiar with a whole line of differences—o Churches, from the beginning of dogmatics—God, down to the end—the future state. Were than we are, we might be interested in a system of theology where

are familiar with a whole lot of Churches, from the beginning of dogma to God, down to the end—the future state. Were of polemics than we are, we might be interested differences all through the system of theology. But we will note two differences where the Reformed

this, but we will note two differences where  
failed to complete a doctrine and the Reformed  
instances where the Reformed went farther

this, but we will note two differences which failed to complete a doctrine and the Reformed two instances where the Reformed went farther

to this, but we will note  
failed to complete a doctrine and  
two instances where the Reformed went farther

## UNFINISHED LUTHERAN I

than the Lutherans. The two doctrines of the Lord's Supper and justification by faith

We will take up the Lord's Supper doctrine of the Lord's Supper holds that of Christ are present "in, with and under" bread and wine. Other Churches call this communion that is denied by the Lutherans. But in Luther's doctrine instead of the general finding a difference. We find that Luther sometimes. There may be said to have been an early and a late one. The first was when he and the Catholics reacted against their doctrine of transubstantiation; the later period was when he was against the Catholics but against the so-called the Reformed. Luther's controversy with the Reformed caused him to narrow down his views. In his early days Luther was liberal. His views, as we shall see, incline to the Reformed than later. The change occurred in 1526. The Luther before that time is in accordance with the Luther after it. In fact Luther's views on the sacrament are an interesting study.

We get Luther's early views on the Lord's Supper from the following of his works:

1. The Sermon on the Blessed Sacrament
2. The Sermon on the New Testament
3. The Treatise on the Babylonish Captivity, 1520.
4. The Abuse of the Mass, 1522.

Let us look at these different works.

The first extended statement of Luther on the Lord's Supper is in his "Treatise on the Lord's Supper" (1519). The great emphasis of this work has not a word to say about the sacrifice of the Mass. But he has a great deal to say about the faith and its necessity. Almost his first statement is from Augustine, "Why preparest thou thyself to eat the Lord's Supper? Only believe and thou hast already partaken." This phrase seems to be the clue to all the statements. The sermon is fellowship with the saints.

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**Nobility of Germany** was his great br the laity. But this "Babylonish Captivity the secular powers but to the Church. Romish sacraments and handles them wit how they blind the people and keep them at the beginning of the discussion of th begins again with a reference to Augusti and thou hast eaten." The first captivity of the mass by withholding the cup from is transubstantiation. The third is that

"The mass is a divine promise whi intercede for no one and be communic him alone who believes with a faith of hi being the promise of God, is not fulfilled by believing."

Speaking of Judas he says (217), "same sacrament and testament which w own work, in the unbeliever, a strange w that the sacraments were mere signs of God in Christ. Unless there was faith th In 1523 Luther says :

"Faith, without which the outwar stands in this, that we firmly believe t stands for us and has taken all our sin the eternal satisfaction for our sins an God to the Father. Who has faith bel Who stands in such faith belongs here as an assurance and sign or specifica the divine promise and consent, that to the sorrowing, a medicine to the bread to the hungry, and a rich tr needy."

All these quotations reveal Luther's or the subjective in the Lord's Supper. from his later emphasis on the objec Christ's body in the elements of the Su of the Lord's Supper consisted of thre

1. The relation of the Supper to
2. The relation of the Supper to of his body.

## ED REFORMATION

upper to the Word of God.  
phasized the first. We agree with  
y on Luther's early doctrine of the  
e Studien und Kritiken, 1843, page  
ctrine of the Lord's Supper was  
r doctrine. But we can not quite  
s virtually Reformed and that the  
cept Luther's early doctrine. For  
horoughly agree with Luther on  
at sacrament, yet all the while  
presence of Christ's body, indeed  
although he does not say as much  
of the Word of God as he does  
in his early writings. But Goebel  
tadt in his reformation at Witten-  
sent at the Wartburg) and which  
was really carrying out Luther's  
s view was that Christ's death, and  
rist's body and blood in the sacra-  
rgiveness. Carlstadt cast aside, as  
tiation and consubstantiation, the  
s adoration, the real presence, the  
and the distribution of the body  
is the extremes to which Carlstadt  
react against his earlier positions.  
controversy with Carlstadt he be-  
vative and more and more empha-  
s of his doctrine, the presence of  
of the Word in the sacrament.  
the efficacy of the Lord's Supper,  
here are three views about it. At  
: the sacraments have efficacy in  
ess of faith or the spiritual con-  
was the "opus operatum" theory  
in baptism in itself cleanses with-  
wine feed the soul without faith,  
acy.  
he subjective view of sacramental  
Reformed view. The sacraments  
is present. It is this subjective

side. that comes out in the early Zwinglian and the views. Zwingli's at first made it a memorial,—we member Christ's death,—a subjective process. Calvin at the Supper we are to lift up our minds away from him; also an intellectual and subjective process. formed thus emphasized the subjective element. just what Luther did in his earlier works. Faith everything, as we have just seen. Thus far Lu formed.

\* Westphal and his followers were (true) and "substantialiter" (substantial porealiter" (corporeally), "dentaliter" (wi (through the throat) and "stomachaliter"

## REFORMED REFORMATION

with was the important element and was  
ved Luther in his later views, as Mel-  
-thonians followed his earlier views.

✓ far Luther got at last from his first  
works that we have quoted. His con-

led him as we have seen to react against  
his controversy with Zwingli and the  
re and more to react against the sub-  
phasize the "real presence" of Christ's  
the sacrament. His emphasis later, as  
ence, was on "the Word" as used by the

"This is my body." In his growing em-  
of the Word spoken at the Supper, he  
logical idea of the Catholics, that those  
body" performed the miracle of trans-  
us see that on the Lord's Supper, there  
asis by the earlier and the later Luther.  
Id have largely harmonized with the Re-  
sized the subjectivity of the sacrament,

Very occasionally he speaks of the pres-

And when Calvin later formulated the  
Christ at the Supper, the only difference  
ade Christ's presence spiritual and Luther  
material.

significance of all this. It is that Luther  
emphasized very much the subjective in

Reformed, and not the Lutheran, have  
he emphasis of Luther in his early works.

have accepted Luther's first tract on the  
ot where he makes incidental reference to  
saints for us. But as far as the Lord's  
, that tract is largely Reformed doctrine.  
ad remained, where he stood at first, for

have been the great and unfortunate divi-  
therans and the Reformed.

other significance about this. The reason  
later became victorious in large parts of  
alatinate, Hesse, Anhalt, Lippe, Bremen,  
., was, that they continued the original  
re Lutheranism had not become polemic,



## UNFINISHED LUTHER

but had retained the original irenic doctrines found lodgment. We of the Reformed doctrines into Germany against the narrowness and bigotry. But was it only a reaction? No, it was a development. These lower views were more nearly theirs of tradition than those of the high Lutherans. The significance of it all was continued Luther's earlier views in the sacrament. And the significance for the Reformed and Presbyterians is that in forming the original views of Luther, they refused to take any man's name because they are found in the New authority of the Word of God be

We have thus noticed the incompleteness of the Lord's Supper and the Reformed have completed it in the spiritual presence of Christ and have taken up another doctrine that Luther left incomplete and that it remained for them to finish. It was no less a doctrine than the "standing or falling doctrine" of Luther and the Lutherans have added to it, namely, justification by faith. The emphasis they laid on it, that they did not. And it remained for Luther to begin teaching it and that they finished it. The Reformed went on and completed the doctrine. And these are the important points.\*

The first of these additions to justification is that the Lutheran doctrine

\* For the suggestions of this subject see A. Lang, D.D., of Halle, who delivered the address at the meeting of the Reformed Alliance in 1880 since published.

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Luther's lack of assurance is shown first laid hold of the doctrine. In his 1515-1516, he is uncertain about salvation, a belief in salvation by faith. Then he is again. Even after he had come to the end of his uncertainty. And this uncertainty followed with him to some extent to the end.

Larger Catechism in the 6th petition, the assurance of errors and peace of conscience, is used in every way from sin, yet it is a conduct, that today one stands, but together followed Augustine very closely. His doctrine of election never rose up because he tried to tack his sacramentarianism to baptism regeneration. Harnack says: Of sin, Augustine had not experienced the uncertainty of salvation. Luther therefore could be sure of salvation possessing

as did Calvin up to the doctrine of the states, which meant "once a saint, always a saint." That came from that idea, Luther did not have certainty in every way, especially in the Word and the sacraments. Very baptism. For by it, he thought God by baptism regeneration. And extremely important's Supper, that pledge to him of forgiveness of Christ was in it, and the ministerial words of institution. But these do not produce absolute certainty of salvation the time to the idea of the strenuous thing possible in order to get assurance, having it. But the Reformed went farther. doctrines, one that gave them perfect doctrine of election. They founded the doctrine merely on an experience as did the external rites (the sacraments and the ceremonies). But they founded it on the promise in God's hand as clay in the hands was sure, for with God nothing could

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## UNFINISHED LUTHER

fail. Therefore they easily pass  
ance, making assurance the last p  
tion. Now the doctrine of ele  
popular as it once was; but it c  
never to be forgotten, namely, th  
foundation of everything. It m  
emphasis on God. But that v  
tremendous power and made it  
people. They felt God could be  
saints this doctrine made. The  
persecution or death without fea  
And while the doctrine of electio  
in our days, yet when the great t  
God's sovereignty and also his  
and God's people more comfort  
assurance is gone. It was this  
faith that has been the comfort  
surance of Wesleyanism that de  
away, but the great assurance  
are his elect. Historically there  
went beyond Luther in assurance

Then on another point the l  
on this doctrine. They ethicized  
into justification a moral element.  
Calvin was the great Ethicist.  
Calvin in his theology made so  
yet he demanded man's act in d  
beyond Luther. Luther in his ir  
by works so emphasized faith  
separated the doctrine of faith  
connected with it, good works.  
works into juxtaposition with  
justification pure and simple.  
beginning of justification as did  
it at the end even by a synergist  
solafidian throughout, that it, b

But with Calvin, justificati  
element. Not that works saved  
by works, he was at once with  
justification was by faith, Calv

## REFORMED REFORMATION

only Luther emphasized faith, and Cal-

vin pronouncedly sets the law over against set them over against each other, for that is, the observance of the law. He put them into the doctrine, not at the end. Thus a man never were impure or unrighteous. There because faith was not complete without not separate faith and works as did them together. Every act of justification in it. It was just this ethical element look in the doctrine. Calvin placed less assurance, for he demanded the presence of saving faith. The doctrine of the saints was not mere tenacity in holding on consistent activities in the energies of life. This ethical peculiarity of the Reformed man was elect unless his life as a whole was elect unless there was an ethical temper about election.

1. two points therefore, on assurance and on the Reformed went beyond the Lutherans on the subject
1. They thus completed the Lutheran doctrine of

our whole subject together, Luther left matters three points, cultus, doctrine and government. one thing for the world and for Protestantism the Reformed came in to complete what Luther leaving it the other way, how unfortunate it would be the world and for Protestantism had the Reformed with the Lutherans, and the Reformed side of on never had been born. The Reformation would Ephraim "a cake not turned"—only half-baked. of the Reformed side of the Reformation for, for higher morals, for better Church government have been lost. It is therefore evident that much

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as Lutheranism has done, a Reformation was not Lutheran forgotten in our glorification rejoice in what Luther did, writings are covered over by the to be the case with our judgment. But that does not blind us to had gone no farther than Lutheran a great loss to the Protestant Protestants had remained as the Reformation, we would have Churches—the sign of the cross and in pronouncing the benediction there would be adoration of the of the Lutheranism of today influence has sloughed off some

Now such half measures character. And that is what often. We will give an illustration between the Lutheran and be given. In the days of districts of the Palatinate. Palatinate along the river Rhine. The Upper Palatinate was Reformed, whose capital was Augsburg. Reformed, the last nation Reformed and remained so opened? In the awful Thirty Years' the seventeenth century, by Catholic armies. When Lutheran Church in the clean over to the Catholic still Reformed and persists become Catholic. It was called back to Catholicism because their rites. But the Reformation They were summoned before commanded to become Catholic give up their lands and emigrate give up their lives; but they faith.

## CHAPTER II.

### FROM ZWINGLI TO THE SPIRIT OF THE REFORMATION.\*

we called a Spirit of the Reformation. It differed from other ages. It was the Middle Ages before it. And it differed from the Reformation and from the spirit of the age in which we live.

In the Reformation, each nation and each age had its contribution. The spirit of the Reformation was made up of all these and more. Luther made his contribution by his inspiration and scholarship. Calvin contributed most to the Reformation. Even the French and Viret and Lasco contributed their share to the contribution that Zwingli made to the Reformation.

In discussing this topic it will be necessary to say a few words about some of the things that all these Reformers have in common. Dr. Schaff has stated in his history of the Reformation that the great Reformation doctrines, the supremacy of the Scriptures; justification by faith; and he later added, from Mercersburg Theology, the priesthood of all believers. Now the first and last of these were the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. They both held to the authority of the Scriptures and the priesthood of all believers. The doctrine of justification was the Lutheran doctrine; and so of it we need say nothing more. At the same time we can set aside these Reformation doctrines common to all and take up the things

This address delivered before the Eastern Synod of the United States, October 17, 1916. It is the first of a series of addresses which will explain why it repeats certain things.

## THE C

in which Zwingli  
of the Reformation

I. The first of  
the *Political Reformation*  
political Reformer  
his early ministry,  
opposing the fore  
who were fighting  
upon him by the e  
he had a habit of  
his attacks on this  
Glarus, as the mili  
things unpleasant  
activity came out  
Zurich he pursued  
through his effort  
often forgotten by  
up sending its citi  
act is shown by t  
favored doing so  
because of Zwingli

Now Luther  
lutely refused to  
the Church. He  
Church, which me  
and the states sho  
especially over ag  
Political Reformation

For this he  
histories have be  
formed should r  
as its basis a na  
some Lutherans  
Zwingli thus cul  
of America. F  
emphasized the s  
activity has seen

Your speak  
just here about  
the same positio

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thing, or at least something very much  
n historically heretical for saying this.  
rch historians I pay little respect. What  
I mean is that Zwingli has been over-  
al activity. Remember that he lived in  
power over him as Luther had in his  
axony, to attend to his politics for him.  
as was every other citizen of a republic  
of his political activity was due to the  
republic, while Luther lived in a mon-  
also too that Zurich was isolated from  
ally for several years and just because  
d become Protestant. It was an awful  
iet was mainly Catholic and so against  
at diet back from sending far larger  
her territory, except that some of the  
Bern and Schaffhausen were wavering  
vly becoming Reformed. Zurich was  
she was treading the wine-press alone.  
l the world at that time if the Catholic  
She was more fearfully isolated than  
She had not like Luther some prince  
hide her for a time in the Wartburg.  
e Athanasius in the fourth century,  
hanasius against the world." Now at  
life or death of a state is at stake,  
a republic, becomes a statesman. And  
litical leader there. And especially so  
uation was produced by his religious  
have triumphantly replied, "Yes, look  
and death at Cappel were a judgment  
into politics." And they quote tri-  
our Lord that "all they that take the  
the sword." Not quite so fast, my  
remembered that our Lord also said  
d peace, but a sword." And remember  
leagues would have come anyhow.  
f the Catholic Church which is one of  
wers. Remember too this special fact  
ical policy that led to the death and



## THE CONTRIBUTION OF ZW

defeat of Zwingli was caused by Bern and Zwingli had protested against it, yes, preached, then Bern left Zurich in the lurch. So that a judgment on himself.

Perhaps this whole subject of political illuminated by what happened the next cent occurred to you that there would probably that awful Thirty Years' war, had Zwingli's p federation of Protestants been carried out. estants would not have suffered as they did powers had known that a strong and united Protestants were ready to meet them in 161 have entered that war, out of which they can weak opposition by the Protestants, with such what took place thus in that 17th century. And this led him to prepare for it, first by fo the Protestant states of Switzerland and the and Hesse. It was simply a case of prepare now. Permit me also to carry you a centur 1688 the Catholics were ready to make a stir the Protestants as they had made in 1618. in Louis XIV. This is shown by their atti had ordered out of his land 500,000 Prote tinate was overrun by the French. The Cat determined to win England back. But a li checked it all at the beginning. The Catho at the battle of the Boyne. That put a quietu tions all over Europe. They found that the prepared Zwingli's political efforts were just was one of preparedness, about which we he

The practical lesson that can be drawn fi of Zwingli is that the Church has a sphere in are not here referring to partisan politics. 1 tics touch morals, the Church has a right to proper measures and to do that as quickly the forces of evil become entrenched. Fo servator of the morals of the nation. Wha was even more accentuated by Calvin, w municipal Reformer. He never waited for s route as some do now by which to denou

## FORMED REFORMATION

at the subject directly. And though our  
o directly related to the state as was  
no less necessary; for the question has  
of politics but of morals. How the old  
e out on political questions. This em-  
Church and state forgets also to note a  
and state have different spheres, they  
parated. Each enters the other's sphere,  
f legal action: the Church in the case of  
and Calvin are strong examples for the  
ve part in all the great moral and social

But Zwingli differed somewhat from  
s activity was political as between states;  
s own city. Zwingli stands out for the  
in international relations. He is there-  
lerald of the great movement born in our  
mphasized by this awful war, that the  
only be observed within nations, but be-  
is the duty of the Church to speak in  
is subject. Zwingli thus becomes the  
of Nations to enforce Peace," of which  
He like Erasmus was an ardent advo-  
also believed in thorough preparedness for  
ssumes a new importance in the light of  
great political Reformer was the harbinger  
tional Reforms, in which the Church must  
f they are ever to be carried through suc-  
llennial day

drums beat no longer and the battle  
furled,  
ment of man, the federation of the

ontribution that Zwingli made to the spirit  
was that he was the *Humanistic or Intel-*  
Far be it from me to say that the other  
her Reformers were not intellectual. They  
ble, Melancthon, brilliant, Calvin, brainiest  
he most practical. But Zwingli brought a  
influence into the Reformation. This was

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF ZWINGLI

due to his humanism. **Luther was the monk-Reformer, the humanist-Reformer.** The more I study I more I realize the limitations placed imposed on monkhood and the more I realize the broader, Zwingli.

For Zwingli gained three great peculiarities. The first was as to the method of thought, Humanism taught that it was necessary to sources and so went back to the Bible. The expression of thought. Humanism taught expression over against the verbosity of language splittings of the scholastic theology. Perhaps also be added, namely, breadth of sympathy, broadest of the Reformers. All this gave an in to the Zwinglian Reformation, over against the

Now this prominence of the intellect was the time of the Reformation. For the Roman Ages had checked, yes, prostituted, the intelligence and humanism had been but the bursting which the Middle Ages had been trying to enter. The Catholic Church by its doctrine of "fides plicit faith) had served notice on the intellect could get along without it. And that Church of transubstantiation had virtually mocked at requiring it to believe in the Lord's Supper which senses said was not so. It was time that the come to its own again. Humanism came to aid the Reformed Church then came to properly state rights. And so humanism and Zwingli made the inent. The result was that in that Reformation emphasized education and everywhere versities and schools, more so in the Reformed Lutherans. I need but to refer to Herborn, Marburg, three Dutch universities and the schools in Frankfurt. The Lutherans have later been catching up have a splendid set of institutions.

But our Lutheran brethren, just because Zwingli intellect its rights, have been charging us with reply is that we are rational but not rationalism as orthodox as Luther on the great fundam

## ROME AND REFORMATION

agreed as they did on all the 15 Articles  
one on the Lord's Supper. The Re-  
formers, grant much to faith, yet they  
of the reason must be respected. Their  
Supper is more rational. They believe  
we must ever be ready to give a reason  
within us. Reason must never be hidden  
done by Luther at Marburg when he  
able to give to Zwingli's argument on the  
to point to the words "This is my body"  
the table. The Lutheran Church has em-  
phatically especially in the Lord's Supper, and we,  
both should be combined and neither for-

Zwingli made his important contribution of  
the spirit of the Reformation so needed then  
against the intellectualism of Rationalism  
against the Bible and revelation as Rationalism  
is to depart from the spirit of Zwingli. One  
dramatic and pathetic scenes occurred just a  
few years after the 300th Anniversary of the  
Reformation in Zurich when, in the 300th Anniversary of the  
Reformation, the head of the Church, over-  
aged and tottering over the grave, seemed to  
as he preached the Anniversary sermon and  
his predecessor declared that he was a Biblicist and  
that his successors in the Church should be  
me to refer to but one more contribution that  
the spirit of the Reformation. And this has  
been enough by the German Church historians  
to be so prevailingly Lutheran. They have  
looked through Lutheran eyes. It is strange how  
they will follow fads. And if one of them makes  
a point, he comes after him. For instance, Prof. Phillip Schaff, D.D.,  
him from Germany the idea that there were  
Reformation, the material principle which  
faith, and the formal which was the Scrip-  
ture, that we correct this old worn-out, hind-  
ering, with our practical minds today,

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF ZWINGLI

would put it the other way. It is the Bible that material, and justification is the form by which material. If justification is the material principle where does it get its material from, if not from where would the Bible get its formal principle were, as they say, the material; for there is justification in the Bible compared with other doctrin

Well, take another fad of Church history. The doctrine of the Reformation has been stated to be faith. So it was for the Lutherans. But Germanians (most of them Lutheran) have therefore that was true of the rest of the Reformation. blinded their vision so that they have not recognized Protestantism from a different perspective. He believed in justification by faith. But so largely in his works. What was his peculiarity? Well, he held as did Luther to the Augustinian view. So that was not peculiar to him. But then say that he got from his great teacher, Prof. Zwickli, at Basle, another fundamental thought. something of Christ. He states it in different ways, the same doctrine. "Christ is the sole Mediator, the Virgin and the saints are not needed." Or Christ died "once for all." But it is always the Christ's finished work. Thus Bullinger in his homilies preached the Gospel with all diligence also and especially taught that Christ was the only Mediator. Mary the Virgin and Mother of God should not be worshipped. The third great peculiarity that he stands out as the Redemptive Reformer Zwingli therefore had a different doctrine and yet not so different. These two doctrines of justification are related as indeed are all the doctrines in the Bible. For there may be said to be three types of justification: one, the metaphysical, which places election back in the mind of God through election, the second is redemptive, placed it at the cross of Christ which was experimental, placed it in connection with works at conversion. Now the old Calvinists first, and the Lutherans, the last. But Zwingli

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF ZWINGLI

For guilty sinners crucified;  
Content to die that he might win  
Their ransom from the death of sin,  
No sinner worse than I can be,  
Therefore I know he died for me.

If grace were bought, I could not buy;  
If grace were coined, no wealth have I;  
By grace alone I draw my breath,  
Held up from everlasting death.  
Yet since I know that grace is free,  
I know my Savior died for me.

I read God's holy word and find  
Great truths that far transcend my mind  
And little do I know beside  
Of thoughts so high, so deep and wide;  
This is my best theology,  
I know my Savior died for me.

My faith is weak, but 'tis thy gift;  
Thou canst my helpless soul uplift,  
And say, "Thy bonds of death are  
Thy sins by me are all forgiven,  
And thou shalt live from guilt set free  
For I, thy Savior, died for thee."

—Rev. 1

## CHAPTER III.

CHAPTER III.  
OF THE REFORMED SIDE OF THE REFORMATION  
THE SPIRIT OF PROTESTANTISM.

THE SPIRIT OF PROTESTANTISM.

spoken of the Spirit of the Reformation in  
But there is also a Spirit of Protestantism.  
there is this difference. The spirit of the  
the spirit of the sixteenth century. The spirit  
is larger, for it takes in also the spirit of the  
since the Reformation. It may be called the  
spirit. Take as an illustration of the differ-  
of republics. Calvin in the Reformation at  
public but it was an aristocratic one, an oli-  
last three centuries have developed out of that  
are democracies. The spirit of Protestant-  
larger than that of the Reformation. And this  
antism needs to be also considered in connec-  
niversary and that very carefully.  
of the Reformation gave its own peculiar con-  
testantism. All Protestants agreed on the su-  
Bible and the priesthood of all believers. The  
hasized justification by faith, the Reformed,  
onement of Christ. The Anabaptists gave their  
their emphasis on Church discipline and per-  
fession. Both the Lutherans and the Reformed  
education and produced a better idea of exegesis of  
the Catholics.  
from these general different contributions to the  
estantism, we come to speak of the special con-  
e Reformed. And we mention  
Zwingli and Calvin are both very interesting  
mericans because like us they were citizens of a  
aptism also emphasized liberty but it never re-  
nent results, due to its extreme individualism  
d Church built up, according to historians a  
ey, great republics in Switzerland and th

## THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE RE

United States and monarchies that are virtuous: England and Holland. Even France, which so the Calvinists at the Revocation of the Edict of has been compelled to accept Calvin's form of and become a republic. It was the Genevan produced the Commonwealth in England. Civil liberty have followed in the wake of Calvinism. anism has no such history to show. Her lands Scandinavia, have produced no republics, al country the Lutherans have become strong ad principles of liberty.

Now the cause of all this is not far to see always been an intimate relation between the the Church and that of the state. The Church i the government of the state and vice versa. Cal government was more democratic than Lutheran the Lutheran Church, the prince was the head. That prince appointed consistories to rule the C consistories were composed of ministers and lay held office only at the will of the prince. Th appointed superintendents. The appointment and given to these came from the prince and not from But it was not so with the Reformed. Here the the authority. The people elected their pastors, gregations elected their elders and deacons. Each was in itself a virtual republic. The Reformed learned to rule the Church, were able to rule the s had learned in the congregation how to do it. I of England was right when he said that "Royalty tery go not well together." He scented the battl The Reformed Church produced a class of peop trained to rule themselves. They therefore held call even king and rulers to account, if they rightly and in the fear of God. This overth right of kings." It meant "the divine right rule. Indeed they so learned to rule that lutely need kings and princes at all. Ar republic in the congregation grew up th publics.

Now this was a remarkable and u



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whether rightly or wrongly it is not  
as been greatly vilified for the exe-  
yet it was Calvin's successors who  
d religious liberty. Notice another  
result. Calvinism has been declared  
free will because of its doctrine of  
this very doctrine of election that  
greatest number of men of free wills

light dawning on the world,  
a full and perfect day,  
wide flag shall be unfurled,  
all bow to her superior sway.

on of liberty is, it is impossible to  
glossal, yes, celestial, of the gifts to  
ing of that liberty, the Reformed  
largest contribution and for it they

ontribution of the Reformed to the  
been its Ethics. That Protestantism  
y and that its ethics are higher than  
of because self-evident. But what  
Peculiar ethical quality? It was  
low in saying this we do not wish to  
Lutheran Church. For she too has  
s were higher and brighter than those  
has not emphasized ethics as strongly  
ethics of Protestantism have come  
ed.

give several historical examples. In  
it that the Hussites, who originally  
d the Lutherans, left them and went  
in the later Reformation? It was  
introduce Church discipline, which  
f conscience. They therefore com-  
discipline in both the Churches and  
uns. Now on the other side we see  
Ethical Reformer of the Reformation.

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His reforms at Geneva were undoubtedly severe but it was Geneva the "model city" of that age. Even Prof. A. Tübingen, one of the leaders of the Lutheran Church, was compelled to bear witness when on a visit to Geneva that Lutheranism had no such city as that.

And what occurred in the Reformation has been the pre-eminence of the Reformed ever since. Their ethical standards were higher. The Lutherans also taught ethics, but Dr. Schweitzer has proved in his able articles in the *St. Louis Critique* many years ago, that as far as ethics was concerned Protestantism had to depend mainly on the Reformation. It might be called Puritans and be laughed at by the Catholics for their narrowness and bigotry, but as Puritans they were pure in life. Take as an example the city of Bremen in Germany. Bremen became Reformed in the later Reformation. All around her except on the north, where was the old Lutheran lands. But under the regulations due to the influence in the city, the morals of Bremen were those of the surrounding countries. And this was the case the days of Church Union a century ago. Other cities might be given. But these are enough to show that the spirit of Protestantism that is ethical has come mainly from the Reformed Church. The great moral uplift of the world came through Protestantism was mainly due to it.

And today it is this ethical chord vibrating through Protestantism that needs to be recognized and heard. In the Reformation altruism and service—those higher ethical ideals—are being stressed, where do these elements come from? They are here because of the Reformed. And the Reformed are especially active in every department of reform, but carrying out the spirit of the Reformation. On this day when men are demanding that the moral rule be applied not only to city, state and nation, but to international relations, it is for the Calvinists to support these movements, for they come out of the Reformation.

3. A third contribution that the Reformed Church has made to the spirit of Protestantism has been Pietism. The Reformed Church on experimental religion and tends to produce practical activities of the Church. For wherever there are missions and charities abound. The

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Reformed Church. But we suppose  
igned by the Lutherans, who at once  
etist of Germany was a Lutheran,  
posite German pietism as equally im-  
ritanism of England, for Puritanism  
nd we add to that the Puritanism of  
etists they had in Holland in Prof.  
all the pietists in the world do not  
or was Spener's pietism the only piet-  
for there was also a Reformed pietism  
a thing as a world-wide pietism, and  
l the larger part. But let us pause a  
ner get his pietism? He got it from  
e preaching of Labadie, the eloquent  
Church of Geneva and the successor  
r to become a pietist. When Spener  
a, Labadie was not yet a separatist.  
the Church, because Calvin had em-  
had gotten it from Zwingli and his  
And where for instance did Spener  
eetings that he first introduced into  
Reformed, who had always had the  
the Church. And it was those prayer-  
anance to Lutheran pietism. Why,  
ave been crushed in Germany but for  
d it to the Lutherans. When Spener  
y because of the persecutions of the  
ere could he have gone, had not a  
lector of Brandenburg, received him  
Elector did more. He founded for him  
erans a university, the university of  
it be able to perpetuate themselves.  
many owes its origin and permanence  
ally looks as if the remark of Rev.  
ade to the writer many years ago is  
"is germane to the Reformed Church  
to which it came, from the outside,—  
rof. Ebrard also says the same: "In  
ere lay no new birth at the basis of  
the Reformed, which led to personal

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experience." Iken says: "We must consider the Reformed Church as an integral part of Reformed Church history." not a party in the Reformed Church as in the part of her inmost life and history.

Both the Lutherans and the Reformed mystical. But with the Lutherans it was the sacrament, with the Reformed the mystical of life. Perhaps the best illustration of pietism in the Church is found in the Heidelberg Catechism: "What is thy only comfort in life and death? body and soul am not my own but belong to the Savior Jesus Christ." Its emphasis on personal piety is the finest flower in the garden of religious life in the Church. Therefore the richness of personal piety is so prominent a feature of Protestantism, mechanical and ceremonial of the Catholic Church mainly to the Reformed.

And when we turn to the fruits of piety and charities of the Church, the same thing is true. Lutheranism has done much for missions and has sent out the first missionaries as to Brazil and the Reformed have done more. The Reformed entered the field of world-mission much later than the Lutherans. How they labored amid great difficulties in the East Indies in the seventeenth century. The Church rejected missions so that Baron von Söderström himself to South America (as no one else did) for missions. The Lutheran Church, it is true, began in the eighteenth century and is now doing a great deal for other charities, we suppose no land is as poor as the Reformed Holland—the product of the Church. The first of the three collections for the poor always goes to the poor. As a result there are more poor in Holland than there are poor to fill them. It is unnecessary, for in Germany it is a common thing for the Lutherans emphasize the passive and the individual, while the Reformed emphasize the active.

And if we were to do as they do in Germany, the Protestants who are not Lutheran as Reformed would be still heavier on the side of the

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sts, Baptists, Congregationalists, etc.,  
And there is a truth in this. These  
e the outgrowth directly or indirectly  
agregationalism certainly came out of  
Methodism is, for it came out of the  
h in the Reformation had for its name  
of England," and whose priests today  
rmed Church of England. And as for  
m to come from the Anabaptists of the  
relation is largely in the similarity of the  
d Baptist. For historically the first Bap-  
e out of the Congregationalists in Britain  
entury, according to Prof. Whitsitt, late  
tist Church. If we therefore follow the  
count all these as Reformed, it overweighs  
greatly. The great religious activity of our  
Church has undoubtedly come largely from

The Reformed were always the leaders in  
too the Lutheran Church has a splendid  
tism always stands for the school as well  
d in these educational movements the Re-  
a large share. In the Reformation she  
rsity of Herborn in Germany, three universi-  
d by Leyden, the Carolinum at Zurich and the  
ls at Bern, Geneva and Lausanne, out of  
present universities. In France and Hungary  
brated schools as Sedan and Debreczin. And  
ave ever kept in the van of education. And  
founded universities for the rich; but it was a  
gue, Pestalozzi, who made education possible  
poor; and thus laid the foundation for our  
education. They were also leaders in the  
s for girls. Thus the Reformed Church has  
cord in this greatest of all movements next

A recent and interesting attempt has  
any by Prof. Max Weber, of Heidelberg  
that capitalism also came from Calvinism.  
have been finely summarized in the Con-

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temporary Review for June and July, 1910, by Prof.  
from which I quote freely.

"By capitalism is not meant what we today mean capitalist over against labor. But capitalism means the growth and the use of capital that has made the world."

We must confess that when we first heard the advanced that capitalism was the product of Calvinism shook our heads. Calvinism has already had a charge to its account without having any more added when we were somewhat relieved when we found that capitalism was meant. We were surprised at the source of this suggestion, for it is not an economist to praise a theologian or for the land to laud Calvin. But the more we considered it, the more we believed that there was a great truth in it. Calvinism, aiming to be a religious movement, has become a social force. Just as modern missions, intended to be universal, has become a mighty world-wide sociological movement has been with Calvinism. And if Calvinism has brought us liberty as we have seen, why should it not produce a boon in world-wide commercial supremacy?

For the facts of history seem to bear out the words of Prof. Weber. At and after the Reformation Catholics drove out the Reformed, the latter fled to England, Holland, Switzerland and Brandenburg. They were largely of the great middle class and artisans. Great trades were built up by them. France found that she had impoverished herself by the nations that were her enemies. The countries where these refugees prospered greatly. First Holland, then commerce, and then England. Prussia owes its position at the head of Germany largely to the refugees. Antwerp took the trade from Spain. Spanish commerce on the other hand went to ruin. Thus these refugees developed their business. Weber says, we have the mighty world of commerce. For Calvinism gave that liberty and industry to develop and it also needed to advance. Hence the genius of it.

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terprise arose.

uggests a reason why all this grew out  
rs:

tify the genius of capitalism with the  
he genius of capitalism is not mere  
e passion of getting and keeping. It  
s the passion of production and enter-  
work that spends little on itself but  
and use it for God. Calvinism trans-  
ed the mediaeval idea that work was  
ere means of living and made it the  
the world. Our calling was not as  
f modest accommodation to our sta-  
on the other hand a means of getting  
was a problem to be solved, a book  
nity of doing something on an eternal  
est to the glory of God. It had an  
eranism had not. Its ideal was not  
t a life energy. Accept the evil situa-  
God mend all. Nay, said Calvin, but  
end all. Life's work then becomes not  
it, but the confident expression of an  
ocation is not an acquiescence but a  
t mere reliance but an energy. The  
ism is not compliance but action,—all  
d. It not merely changed the heart of  
of it. Put into the language of econom-  
ile it accumulated wealth. It opposed  
enjoyment of what it owned. It cared  
enjoyment. It recognized stewardship  
It discouraged consumption and de-  
it released production from the fetters  
or an egotistic enjoyment, especially  
est on money where Calvin took a posi-  
mpared with Luther's traditional ethics.  
arge and sacred utilitarianism.”  
beautifully of the ethical character so  
lvin's influence—even in money-getting.

branded the mere passion of possession  
rammonism. The spring of industry was  
of energy and world-mastery for the  
d Christian passion, God's kingdom and  
was to the will of God.”  
onomist closes with a warning. He says :